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1825



THE PRESIDENCY
OF THE
UNITED STATES.

BY A. B. WOODWARD.



New-York:

PUBLISHED BY DERICK VAN VEGHTEN, FOR THE PROPRIETOR.

J. & J. Harper, Printers.

1825.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, To wit:

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-first day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the forty-ninth, Levi S. Burr, of the said district, hath deposited in the office of the Clerk of the District Court, for the District of Columbia, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the following words, to wit:

“The Presideney of the United States. By A. B. Woodward.”

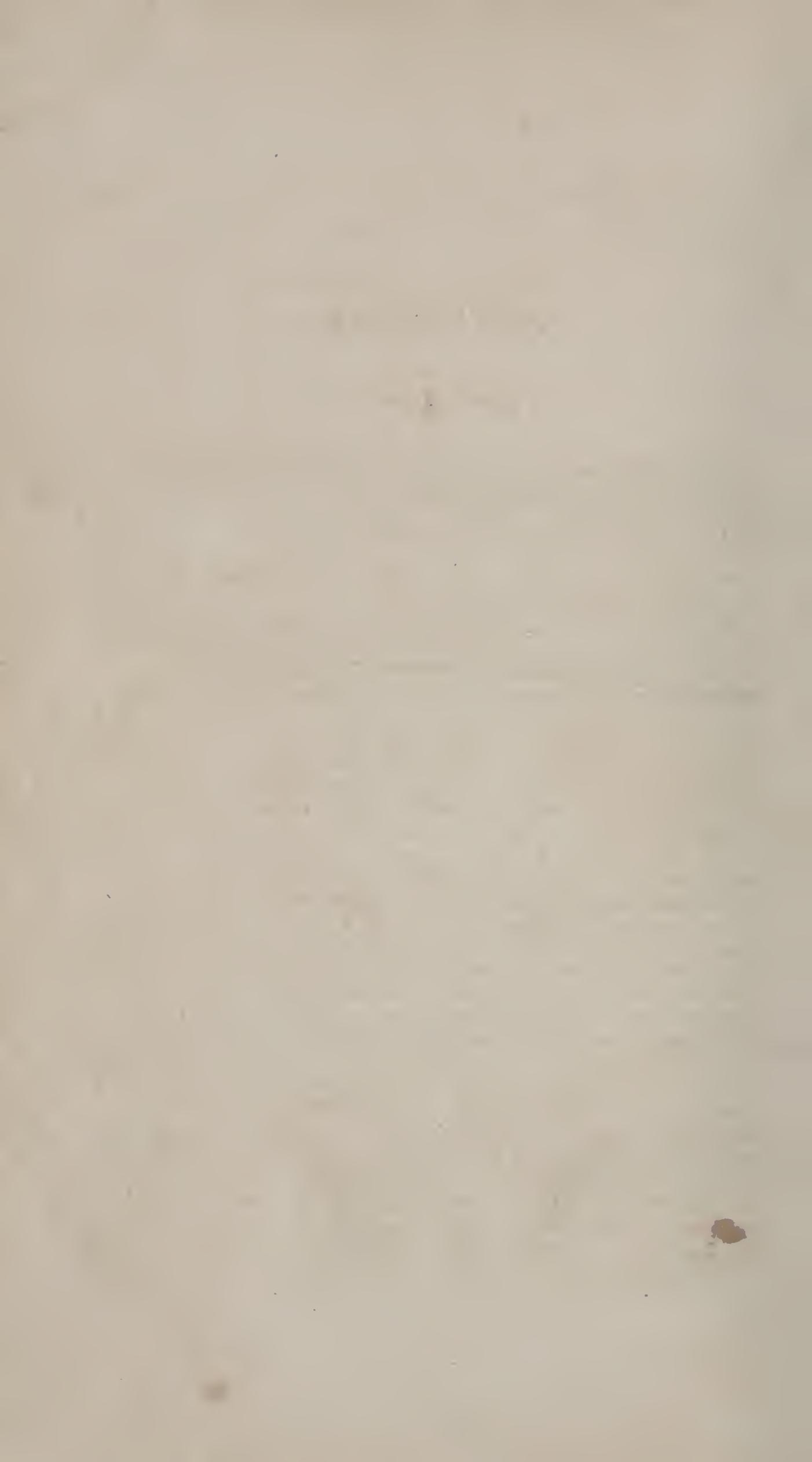
In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled “An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned.” And also to the Act, entitled “An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other Prints.”

L.S. *IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF*, I have hereunto set my hand, and affixed the public seal of my office, the day and year aforesaid.

EDM. I. LEE,
Clerk of the District Court for the District of Columbia.

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ON THE

PRESIDENCY

OF THE

United States.

ADDRESSED TO THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN.

THE FIRST PRESIDENT.

THE selection of the first President of the United States of America was peculiarly happy.

Virtuous, wise, accomplished, great in the field, great in council, enjoying high renown, and universal respect and attachment. Washington has not only given immortality to his name, but has conferred permanent benefits on his country, and on mankind. History will delight to dwell on the qualities of this estimable man; and the youthful mind, in all succeeding ages, will refer to him as a model of what is good, and what is grand, in the character of a human being.

Habits of circumspection, thoughtfulness, and deliberation, a serene temper, a sound judgment, a deportment marked with candour and sincerity, and undeviating probity, an assiduous industry, a love of, and an attention to, good counsel, and a firmness of resolution united with a benevolence of heart, qualified him, not only to repulse the power and the tyranny of Britain, and the pride, insolence, and corruption of France; but eminently to advance the domestic welfare of the interesting and amiable family of citizens, composing the North American republic.

It does not appear from the correspondence of General Washington, that any very definite plan of administration was settled, anterior to the counting of the votes for the Presidency. A veteran of the revolution was the messenger of the result; nor does it appear that, on the journey from Mount

Vernon to New-York, he was accompanied by any confidential adviser. On his arrival, however, at New-York, he found himself in the bosom of old and tried friends; some remaining in the functions of the old government, and many returned, from all quarters of the Union, to the two houses that composed the first illustrious federal Congress. Some, even, were congregated, who were in private capacities.

THE CONFEDERATION.

At the head of the old government stood Cyrus Griffin, who had been elected President of Congress, on the twelfth day of July, 1788.

John Jay was officiating in the department of Foreign Affairs, and delivered one of the early messages of the President of the United States to Congress.

The Department of Finance was in commission; and Walter Livingston, Samuel Osgood, and Arthur Lee, were the incumbents.

In this government, some attention will perhaps long be applied to a sort of geographical equity in the distribution of the honours and of the emoluments of the nation. Certain it is, that this principle had not been disregarded in the construction of the Board of Finance, under the confederation. Osgood was selected from the Eastern, Livingston from the Middle, and Lee from the Southern, States.

Henry Knox was at the head of the Department of War.

John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were our Foreign Ministers, at the Courts of Great Britain and France, respectively, under the confederation, but the former, elected the first Vice-President under the new form of government, was now in America, and at his post.

Charles Thompson was the Secretary of Congress, William Duer, Secretary of the Board of Treasury, and Joseph Nourse, Register of that Department.

GENERAL HAMILTON.

Alexander Hamilton, who had distinguished himself at the dawn of the revolution, as an efficient advocate of American rights; who had borne arms in their defence; who had acted, for four years, in the military family of General Wash-

ington, with an increase of distinction and renown; who achieved a brilliant military exploit at the capture of Lord Cornwallis; whose fame as an orator in Congress, in the grand convention of 1787, and in the State convention of New York, was of the first lustre; and who had, recently, proved himself one of the most profound and able writers of the western hemisphere, in the composition of the Federalist; on whom all eyes were directed; and whose career of glory it was evident to all, was not yet closed; was now again at the side of his illustrious friend. Near him, also, were George Clinton, Aaron Burr, and Elbridge Gerry, subsequent Vice-Presidents, and James Madison, a subsequent President of the United States, and many other distinguished characters of the revolution.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION.

In these interesting circumstances, Washington organized his administration. All was quiet and all was peace.

The battle between the Federalists and the Antifederalists had been fought, and the victory acquiesced in. Feuds, dissensions, and virulent party-spirit, had yet to receive their new-birth.

It required the characteristic prudence and discrimination of Washington, from these splendid materials to construct his ministry, and to give impetus to the new Constitution.

Although the third day of March, 1789, was assigned for the termination of the government under the confederation, it yet continued in partial operation for a period of five months longer. The true date of the expiration of the government of the confederation, is the third day of August, 1789.

In the British government, the fiscal concerns of the nation engross such paramount attention, that the head of that department is regarded as the Prime Minister.

President Washington selected Colonel Hamilton as the head of the Financial Department, in the new American administration. The Department of Foreign Affairs, temporarily revived in the new government, was converted into the Department of State; and Mr. Jefferson was called to its

functions. General Knox was appointed Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph Attorney General.

Of the officers of the former government, three only, in addition to such as have been already named, are recollected to have received immediate appointments in the new administration. Mr. Jay was made Chief Justice of the United States, Colonel Duer Under Secretary of the Treasury, an office since extinct, and Mr. Nourse Register of the Treasury. The latter gentleman received his original appointment to that office in the year 1781, and remains in it to the present day, the last of the civil officers of the revolution; and a monument of integrity, industry, and courtesy.

It would be foreign to the present purpose to descant on the abilities displayed by the three first chiefs of the Departments. They are generally known and are already embodied in history. The fiscal arrangements soon produced order from chaos, gave vitality and stability to public credit, and elicited a train of happy results, the benefits of which are sensibly experienced even at this existing hour; nor is the epoch near when their force will be expended. Such is the stamp which, under the direction of Divine Providence, capacity and genius impress on the destiny of nations.

HARMONY PREVAILS.

The eye of the scrutinizing observer, anxious to discern the causes of the personal dissensions, and exasperated party-spirit, which afterward embarrassed, and in a certain degree deformed, the administration of our public affairs, will, perhaps, be directed to the inquiry, whether these new arrangements produced any dissatisfaction; whether any latent heart-burnings existed with those, who, being in employment under the old government, were superseded in the succeeding; and in what degree these may have contributed to give origin to new parties.

A satisfactory answer may, probably, be given to this inquiry. No dissatisfaction and no heart-burnings affecting the public interests, were excited. A slight sensibility might have been experienced by the Secretary of the Revolutionary Congress, at not being nominated to the Department of Fo-

reign Affairs, or to that of State ; but if this existed, in any degree, it was transient, it soon subsided, and it was all. The former President of Congress was soon appointed to a respectable station in his native State, and the Commissioners of the Treasury elicited not a murmur.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE CABINET SYSTEM.

The mind of General Washington was so constituted as to delight in, and to require, consultation. In the construction of the government, no constitutional advisers had been assigned to the President. A dignified body was invested with a negative voice on his selections ; but a daily, hourly, oral, confidential, and perfectly free, counsel was not expected from that body ; nor were they in a situation to impart it.

On the contrary, it soon grew into a practice with President Washington, to assemble the Heads of Departments and the Attorney-General ; and to consult with them, thus embodied, orally and freely, on all his measures. This body, entirely unknown to the constitution, gradually acquired, and still retains, the appellation of the Cabinet. The Constitution only authorizes the President to require the opinion, in writing, of the Head of a Department, on a matter falling within his Department. It was afterward announced, on an occasion, that will presently be more particularly adverted to by a Secretary of State, and a member of the Cabinet, that the first President generally relinquished his personal opinion in favour of that of a majority of his cabinet ; nor is it believed but that this case has occurred to more, if not to all, of the Presidents.

EXCLUSION OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT.

From this Cabinet, it has been the uniform course to exclude the Vice-President. Perhaps his constitutional function of being prolocutor of the Senate was deemed incompatible with his being a member of the Cabinet. His attendance would frequently be inconvenient, and his possessing a voice in the deliberations of the Senate might render it indelicate. That any dissatisfaction arose from this course being pursued, either at the time of its adoption, or subsequently, has never been manifested. The demise of the incumbent has

never occurred in relation to the office of President, nor even an indisposition so severe as to prevent the exercise of his function. If a Vice-President should be suddenly called to mature measures, on which he had had no previous opportunity to exercise his judgment ; or if after having originated measures of an interesting character, he should be suddenly called to relinquish the prosecution of them ; a divergence from harmonious administration might result.

The Cabinet, thus for the first time known in the administration of American government, moved forward with great smoothness and energy for a considerable period after its institution. The Presidency, as an office, or power, was indeed, essentially, though in some degree, imperceptibly, changed from what the Constitution had made it, but the practical improvement was at once so great and so obvious, as to command silent acquiescence.

CAUSES OF PARTIES.

Parties arise, in free States, from the inculcation of new principles ; or of a different practical application of those already known. They constantly attend thinking and intelligent communities ; and are as diversified in their grades, as they are various in complexion. They originally commence in an honest difference of opinion ; and, so far, they are useful. But time, protracted labours, continual contentions, alternates successes and disappointments, and a combination of all the interests, and of all the passions, that actuate the human heart, eventually alter their character ; and what was, at first, an honourable and a useful party, at length becomes a dishonourable and a pernicious faction.

When parties have been actually formed, in a free State, it is not to be expected but that they will reach the bosom of the executive family.

GERM OF THE FIRST PARTIES.

The germ of the political parties, which were destined soon to agitate the administration and people of the United States, was found in an honest difference of opinion between two intimate friends. They now stood in different relations, and under different responsibilities ; the one, a member of

the Cabinet, and conducting the fiscal administration, the other, a member of the House of Representatives, and eminent in virtue and talent. The question involved not only an important point of policy, but a very nice point of moral rectitude.

Colonel Hamilton thought that the national faith imperiously required that the public creditors should be fairly paid the full amount of the debts, of which they held the evidences.

Mr. Madison thought that, considering the enormous profit made by the existing holders of those evidences, and the deplorable sacrifices made by the original holders, such a discrimination should be made as would enable both to participate in the advantage arising from the restoration of the public credit. This profit, or sacrifice, amounted, in some instances, to no less than seven hundred per cent.

Some new questions soon arose to widen the divergency of opinion, and of action; and to impress more definite characters of party. It was proposed that the general government should assume upon itself certain debt, incurred by the individual States in the prosecution of the war of the revolution. The selection of a permanent seat of national government was a constitutional duty. The institution of a national bank was much desired, and involved a severe scrutiny into the construction of the Constitution itself.

In the progress of the divisions, which the agitation of these questions produced, in the legislative councils, and among intelligent citizens, it was, ere long, discovered that the Cabinet itself was also divided. President Washington, of whose life it had already been one of the most painful tasks to adjust delicate pretensions, and to repress incipient dissension; still held the balance with a steady hand, and possessed the unabated confidence of the nation.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

An important event was, however, in the womb of time, and just about to receive its birth; which while, on the one hand, it was to operate strange changes in the affairs of European nations, on the other, was to compel the American

President to take a decided stand, and to control the conflicting opinions of his Cabinet. This was the subversion of the ancient French monarchy ; and the conversion of a nation, gallant and polite, but fickle and sanguinary, into a republic.

The consequences of the American and French revolutions, their connexions with the future destinies of mankind, are too grand and important to admit of any compressing. It will be sufficient to remark, that the American federal government, and the French revolution, were coeval in their commencement ; the former being organized between the fourth days of March and August, 1789, and the latter dating from the fourteenth day of July, in the same year. The French revolution has had its commencement, and its termination ; but the American federal government still stands, the admiration and the hope of the world.

It was after the execution of the King, and on the presentation of the new flag of the French republic to the United States, that the American President was obliged to rely on his sole and unbiassed judgment. A portion of his advisers hoped he would decline the acceptance of the emblem. Another portion deprecated that course. President Washington not only determined to receive the flag, and thereby, effectually, to acknowledge the French republic ; but accompanied the act with the most eloquent and impassioned address that characterized his whole life. He was ever afterward claimed by, and recognised as belonging to, the party which acquired the appellation of the Democratic or Republican. Sensible, however, that the mind of the President was elevated above subserviency to any party, that which acquired the denomination of Federal, did not regard him as estranged from them.

Never, in the concerns of government, has there been manifested a degree of dementation so extravagant, silly, and sanguinary, as that which distinguished the so called, republicans of France. The human mind shudders at the horrors of the retrospect. It can, however, be only here observed, that the fondest hopes of the American people were deceived.

Instead of finding a respectable and powerful auxiliary to the principles of republicanism in the people of France, the American people were left to sustain the great cause alone.

THE MORAL SOURCE OF DISSENSION.

During the hostilities, that soon broke out, and long continued to rage, between France and Great Britain, two counter-tides of party rolled in the United States ; constantly varying their fluctuations, and, at one time, embarrassing their administration, and, at another, distracting their people.

Two domestic events were now to succeed ; of which, both were calculated, not only to separate parties still further, but, what was much more to be regretted, to impart to them a spirit of bitterness. These were the rise and continuance of personal dissensions in the Cabinet, and the selection of a successor to the first President.

THE MORAL SOURCE OF DISSENSIONS.

The source of all dissensions lies in a departure, somewhere, from moral propriety. It is a matter of more consequence, therefore, than it might, at first view, appear, to examine, even in controversies little otherwise interesting, but, more especially, in those which embroil communities and nations, where the original fault lies. This being truly ascertained, and generally known, controversy is likely to terminate. Nor is this task easy. In all controversies, both parties are apt to be much in the wrong ; and, when friends embark, the malignity of the moral ulcer is increased, and the deviations from rectitude of conduct become both more numerous and more important, with the adherents to the respective causes, than with the original parties themselves. It is rare that, in any controversy, right is entirely on one side. It is rare, if the parties to the original controversy should even conduct themselves towards each other with the most nice decorum, that their friends observe the same delicacy. It is rare also, in political controversies, and it thus infinitely augments the difficulty of settling their merits, that many virtues, talents, and fine qualities, are not found on both sides ; and as well with the original parties as with their re-

spective adherents. Without, however, the departure from moral rectitude, which has been alluded to, parties are not apt to continue long; nor to acquire great acerbity. Simple difference of sentiment, the result of enlightened and rational investigation, not only increases the respect and esteem of the original parties for each other, but both are even covered with the mantle of public applause.

In political concerns, *intrigue*, in its very worst and most aggravated sense, may be defined to be *a combination of bad men, to effect bad purposes, by the use of bad means*. It admits of every gradation, from this exacerbated stage, down to the confines of simple innocence; and approximates the latter, when it deviates from the line of open and candid virtue, only, by the circumstance of its measures and movements being veiled by secrecy and concealment. The latter quality alone, that of *secrecy*, is generally sufficient to characterize *intrigue*; but when to this are added corrupt views, acute cunning, and desperate passions, the safety of men, and even of nations, becomes involved. Few governments are without intrigues; nor can republican government claim an exemption.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The mind of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Secretary of State under the Washington administration, and thus a prominent member of the Washington Cabinet, was of the first order. He may be regarded as the father of modern republicanism. He framed the Declaration of American Independence, and was the author of the first written Constitution known to the world. His republican principles were imbibed from the fountains of antiquity. These were corrected, and improved, by an intimate knowledge of the nature and foundations of English liberty. The political rights of British subjects, and the admirable system of English jurisprudence, were familiar to him. He was an accomplished scholar in the ancient, and in the modern languages. In Mathematical and Natural Philosophy, he was profound. He was skilled in many of the arts. His integrity had the solidity of adamant, and his manners its polish. His pen

was early exercised in defence of American rights ; and he was distinguished for a style rich, original, and energetic. In official capacities, his application was as severe, as his talents were high ; and the strength of European diplomacy, whether nurtured in the school of Britain, or of France, withered in his grasp. His Rights of British America, his Charter of her Independence, his Notes on Virginia, his Report on Measures and Weights, those on the Fisheries and Commerce, his Correspondence with Hammond and with Genet, his Memoir on the Megalonyx, his Inaugural Address, and a variety of other brilliant productions, remain monuments of his splendid abilities ; and constitute treasures precious to history and to science.

OPPOSITE VIEWS OF MR. JEFFERSON AND GENERAL HAMILTON.

The common child of their labours, their perils, and their cares, the cause of American freedom, was perhaps alike dear to Jefferson and Hamilton ; but they took opposite views of the dangers by which it was to be assailed. The one dreaded the degeneracy of American institutions into monarchy and aristocracy, forms of human government which the enlightened world had sufficient experience to discard ; while the apprehensions of the other dwelt on prospects of anarchy, relaxation of authority, dissolution of order, and irretrievable confusion. It is not improbable that both magnified the dangers, on the sides from which they, respectively, viewed them ; and, while the excess of their apprehensions for the existence of freedom may be regarded as a proof of the zeal and sincerity of their attachment, it may also have, essentially and reciprocally, contributed to its preservation.

Thus far the contest was honourable, and the distinction of parties useful.

But minds, inferior in elevation and dignity to those who guided the destinies of the infant and interesting republic, and were cherishing the hopes of future millions, were suffered to intermingle ; and intrigues arose which the eye of history has not yet penetrated, destructive to the harmony of the administration, and invading the peace of Washington.

MR. JEFFERSON INSIDIOUSLY ASSAILED.

Anonymous and secret communications were addressed to the latter, derogatory to Mr. Jefferson. An explanation was asked and given. This explanation darted a ray of light on the transactions ; and the bosom of the virtuous and amiable President was filled with painful anxiety. Mr. Jefferson generously determined to obviate all embarrassments, and retired from the administration ; and Colonel Hamilton soon afterward adopted the same determination, but was anticipated by General Knox, in its execution.

THE ADMINISTRATION DISSOLVED.

In the mean time, the correctness of a sentiment, confidentially communicated to his government by Mr. Jefferson, while Minister to France, was assailed from the press, and defended by Colonel Monroe, then a Senator from Virginia, and now the American President.

Thus expired the harmony of the Cabinet. The evils of the system had begun to manifest themselves ; and were soon to be developed with an irresistible and overwhelming force of conviction.

A NEW CABINET.

Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, the Attorney-General of the United States, was raised to the Secretaryship of State ; and Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut, Comptroller in the Financial Department, to that of the Treasury. In the interval Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, Postmaster-General of the United States, was appointed Secretary of War, and Mr. Bradford, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General. Mr. Randolph was thus, though his capacity had been changed, the only remnant of the old Cabinet ; but was destined soon to fall a victim to its dissensions.

ILLUSIONS OF FOREIGN MINISTERS.

It is not to be regarded as a matter of surprise, that foreign Ministers, arriving in the United States, should form misconceptions, both of the government, and the people. Accustomed to a greater or less degree of splendour and parade in government of every kind, and more particularly to a portion of military parade, they behold, with infinite astonishment, a

great people, among whom, from the President of the United States to the Governors of the individual States, and from them through all the grades and ramifications of office, not a single external symptom is exhibited of their dignities or authorities ; nor is a soldier to be seen. Informed that it is a popular government, they behold neither mob, nor tumult, nor noise, nor crowd ; but find every man, public and private, pursuing his avocation, in solitary quiet. They have heard, and they have read, and perhaps with admiration, of the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS ; but, in beholding what this liberty actually is, they were not prepared to find, that every man in a republican government, in any public station, low or high, or having any pretensions to it, is, if his opponents are to be exclusively believed, not merely a signal dishonour to his particular country, but to the species itself. It remains a mystery to them ; notwithstanding they see the actual operation of those happy ventilators of the public passions, to which the Liberty of the Press gives birth ; how the popular mind is so cool, so tranquil, so dispassionate, so equitable and correct in its judgments. They know that, with this people, elections must be both numerous and frequent ; but they have been told that the Americans are somewhat of a more literary and intelligent community, and cannot readily believe that, from one end of their country to the other, there is but one, to them a tedious and uninteresting topic of conversation, *the next election*. Elections themselves, they have also heard of, or beheld ; and they associate with them frightful ideas of turbulence, violence, and confusion.

GRADUALLY DISSIPATED.

The residence of foreign Ministers, a few years, in the United States, gradually dissipates these illusions. A foreign Minister, from the North of Europe, who had been sometime in the United States, was met, at Philadelphia, by another, from the same quarter, his friend, who had recently arrived ; and who had been at Washington, without seeing there President or Vice-President, Senator or Representative, Ministers domestic or foreign, or troops any where ; and was accosted with an interrogation of the following nature. “To

what sort of a country am I, and where is the government ; for, on my part, I can see no government whatever ?" To this his friend made the following remarkable reply. " This is a government which can be neither seen, nor felt ; and, yet, it is the strongest government on earth." Foreign Ministers, of a sober and reflecting cast, frequently leave the United States with impressions, respecting republicanism, very different from those with which they came. When, in fact, they see the two Houses of Congress in actual session, and the assiduity with which their members, and the executive departments, devote themselves to the public business ; when they advert to the Governors and Legislatures of the twenty-four States equally engaged, independently of the innumerable administrations of counties, cities, and towns ; when they view the various tribunals of justice, in constant occupation ; when they behold the dense population of the east, bristling in military array, at the militia musters, and the forest, around a solitary court house, in the south and west, pouring forth well armed battalion upon battalion ; when they visit a military academy, a garrison, or a seventy-four gun ship, and observe the intelligence, the strength, and the discipline, they display ; when they reflect on the magnitude, and the regularity, of the revenues, and the extent and activity of the commerce, restricted only by the limits of the globe ; when they consider the immense regions which the posts traverse, and with what speed,—the multiplicity of the Gazettes, and with what avidity they are perused ; and when, finally, they look at the precise and orderly system, with which the elections are conducted, that give rise to all this animation, and afford all this protection ;—they are indeed struck with an awful sense of what this nation is, with a conviction of where its strength and energies lie, and feel that it is a government both to be admired and revered.

OCCASIONAL ARROGANCE.

Sometimes foreign Ministers arrive, inflated with arrogance and presumption ; and entertaining views, the most crude and incorrect, of the character of the government, and of the people, of the United States. The two first Ministers of the

French Republic, a British Consul, and afterward a British Ambassador, gave considerable trouble to the American administration. The two latter were dismissed ; and of the two former, the recall of the first was asked for on the part of the American President, and accorded by the rulers of France. The acts of his successor involved the standing of Mr. Randolph, and again broke the Cabinet of Washington.

MR. FAUCHET.

Monsieur Fauchet, in the quality of Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, near the United States, on the tenth day of Brumaire, in the third year of the French Republic, one and indivisible, corresponding to the thirty-first day of October, in the year 1794, according to the American or Gregorian Calendar, addressed, from Philadelphia, to the Minister of Foreign relations in France, a despatch, which is characterized, in the caption, as the *private* correspondence of the Ambassador on politics, or, as we are accustomed to term it, *confidential* ; and which is numbered as the tenth despatch, of that description, he had transmitted.

IMPLICATES MR. RANDOLPH.

In this despatch, Mr. Fauchet refers to overtures made to him by Mr. Randolph, who, he says, had come to see him, with an air of great eagerness ; and of which overtures he had given an account in a previous despatch, numbered six. Immediately after the reference thus made to these overtures, follow some remarks relating to them, which are too important to be omitted ; and which, in true fairness, ought to be presented in their original dress, if this were practicable. Not being so at present, if it should hereafter become so, this deficiency will be supplied. The original French manuscript may have perished in the conflagration of Washington. The sense of the remarks, in the English language, may, perhaps, be fairly given, in the following terms. "The Republic could thus, with some thousands of dollars, have decided on peace or civil war. The consciences of the pretended patriots of America have thus, already, their tariff. Of these conclusions, painful to be drawn, the certainty will, undoubtedly, for ever exist in our archives. What will be the old age of this

government, if it be thus early decrepid?" In another part of this despatch, M. Fauchet has the following remark: "The precious confessions of Mr. Randolph, alone, throw a satisfactory light upon every thing that comes to pass." M. Fauchet, in a subsequent part of the same despatch, having observed that Mr. Taylor, a republican member of the Senate, had published a pamphlet, asserting that the decrepid state of affairs, resulting from the financing system, presaged either a revolution or a civil war, proceeds with the following remarks. "The first was preparing. The goverment, which had foreseen it, reproduced, under various forms, the demand of a disposable force, that might put it in a respectable state of defence. Defeated in this measure, who can aver that it may not have hastened the local eruption, in order to make an advantageous diversion; and to lay the more general storm, which it saw gathering? Am I not authorized in forming this conjecture, from the conversation, which the Secretary of State had with me and Le Blanc, alone; an account of which you have in my despatch numbered three?" A little further on, he states, that Mr. Randolph told him, "*that under the pretext of giving energy to the government, it was intended to introduce absolute power; and to mislead the President into paths, that would conduct him to unpopularity.*" Speaking, all the time, of the first Pennsylvania insurrection, he again observes, that the "military part of the suppression is, doubtless, Mister Hamilton's; the pacific part, and the sending of commissioners, are due to the influence of Mister Randolph over the mind of the President; whom I delight, always, to believe, and whom I do believe, truly virtuous, and the friend of his fellow-citizens, and of principles."

These are all the remarks contained in the despatch of citizen Fauchet, that have a personal bearing on the American Secretary of State; except two, of minor importance. The first states the Governor of Pennsylvania to enjoy the name of republican, and the Secretary of that Commonwealth to possess great influence in the popular society of Philadelphia, which, in its turn, influenced those of other States, and that these men, with others unknown to citizen Fauchet, all having, without doubt, Randolph at their head, were balancing

to decide on their party, before the proclamation was published, and before the cabinet had resolved on its measures. The second alludes to the constitutionality of the President's remaining to command the army in person, while Congress were in session, which the patriotic papers opposed ; and states that citizen Fauchet is certain that the office of the Secretary of State, which alone remained at Philadelphia, maintained the controversy in favour of the opinion " which it was desired to establish."

HIS DESPATCHES INTERCEPTED.

It was the last of the conceptions of citizen Fauchet, that this despatch, instead of being lodged in one of the bureaux of Foreign Relations at Paris, should visit the Cabinets of London and Philadelphia, and take its repose at Washington. Yet such was its destiny. On the passage across the Atlantic Ocean, it was found on board a French vessel, named the Jean Bart, captured by the British. The interceptors forwarded it to London ; whence Lord Grenville transmitted it to Mr. Hammond, at Philadelphia. Mr. Hammond put it into the hands of Mr. Wolcott ; who showed it to Mr. Pickering and to Mr. Bradford. Mr. Pickering made a translation of it for President Washington.

MR. RANDOLPH SUPPLANTED.

The suspicions arising in the breast of the President, from the perusal of this despatch, were so strong ; and his mind was so operated upon, by the other members of the Cabinet, that he adopted toward Mr. Randolph a deportment, which instantly, produced his resignation.

VINDICATES HIMSELF.

Mr. Randolph published a vindication of his resignation. This commences with a statement of facts, and terminates with a pathetic remonstrance to the President. It is interspersed with a variety of interesting documents. Among them, are extracts from the previous despatches, numbered three and six ; which are referred to, by the intercepted despatch, numbered ten. A complete analysis of the latter is made, and when taken in connexion with the certificate of Mr. Fauchet, given on board of the Medusa, on the fifteenth

of Fructidor, in the year three: or first of September, 1795; and when the whole of the facts and circumstances are collated and compared, no candid, charitable, and impartial mind will impute to Mr. Randolph the slightest degree of corruption or impurity, nor to any other functionary of the government whatever; so that the whole mischief seems to have arisen solely from the vanity, and self-inflation, of the French Minister.

Of the tissue of errors and folly woven by the fertile imagination of the French Minister, it might at this day, and with the peculiar views with which this discussion is undertaken, appear invidious to speak. It is sufficient to say, that the mischief produced, was totally irreparable; that President Washington was betrayed into precipitate measures toward Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Randolph into such as were disrespectful to the President; and that two worthy men lived in estrangement, until separated by death.

HIS VINDICATION REVEALS THE UNCONSTITUTIONAL OPERATION OF
THE CABINET SYSTEM.

But there is one passage, in the vindication of Mr. Randolph, essential to the main object of this discussion; and which will, therefore, be introduced, though mingled with extraneous matters. It is of the following purport:

“ The time when the letter crept from the pocket of the British Minister, he was exposed to very obvious animadversions. You had been informed of his eagerness to crown his mission, by the consummation of the treaty; of which he was an affectionate admirer, and lord Grenville had been the anxious parent. Mr. Wolcott, profuse in his responsibilities for others, would seem, in his letter of October the eighth, to excuse Mr. Hammond from requesting, or intimating that the contents of a letter might be communicated to the President; and fathers it as his own suggestion that it ought to be delivered to him, for that purpose. The world cannot be deceived by this. Mr. Hammond understood the goodness of the soil, in which he was sowing the seed, and duly appreciated the fruit, which was to spring from it. He was convinced, and you must have been convinced, that he counted

upon your being made a partner of the secret; and would have soon explained himself, in that way, if Mr. Wolcott's patriotic ardour to hurl a feeble dart at the republicans of the United States had not anticipated him, by a particular application. With this impression, it ought to have occurred that Mr. Hammond might have chosen, for the communication, the period when you refused the ratification, from a circumstance, principally, relative to the French. I assert that he preferred this period, because he was instructed to use the letter for the benefit of his Majesty's service. He had long ago heard that you generally suffered yourself to be governed by a majority of your council; and that a concert between Messieurs Wolcott and Pickering, who sought, with joy, the seeming authority to denounce the foes of the treaty as a detestable and nefarious conspiracy, and were perhaps furnished with some peculiar topics for your ear, would turn your mind to the revocation of your original intention. Considerations like these should have recommended real moderation, in deciding upon a mutilated instrument; and the inducement to moderation was heightened by a natural suspicion that the suppression of the letter from me, until Mr. Hamilton was on ship board, arose from his reluctance to be interrogated concerning its references."

I would, here, arrest the attention of the individual citizen, to whom this discussion is particularly addressed, and direct it to the following words, which are contained in the preceding observations; "you generally suffered yourself to be governed by a majority of your council." The idea they convey will be more amply dilated on hereafter.

Sir William Temple, the celebrated English Minister to the Republic of Holland, observes that, almost in all governments those, who have an opportunity of knowing the interior movement, find the real power exercised by hands, very different from those in which the constitution has placed it. Let the reflecting citizen consider what becomes of the constitutional power, in any instance, where a President of the United States is so governed, by a Cabinet thus constructed.

A NEW CABINET FORMED, FROM WHICH THE SOUTH IS EXCLUDED.

Mr. Pickering was charged by the President with the functions of Secretary of State, and he conducted that Department and the Department of War at the same time, until the close of the year 1795, when Dr. McLienry was called to the latter. This gentleman belonged to the State of Maryland; and thus the States south of the Potomac lost all representation in the Cabinet. Virginia, however, had one of her distinguished sons, as the representative of the nation at the court, then the most interesting of Europe. He, too, was destined to fall the victim of the Cabinet.

ASSAILS MR. MONROE.

At the present day, when parties are annihilated and animosities smoothed, partly by policy, but principally by the imperceptible, though steady operation of time, it is eminently useful to take a retrospective and dispassionate view of the causes which originated or embittered them. When the dignity of the three personages concerned, General Washington, Colonel Pickering, and Colonel Monroe, is considered, the mind of the individual citizen, ruminating on past evil, and endeavouring to avert future, and clinging to the high hopes of his country with invincible fortitude under every blast, becomes perplexed to know what were the elements of this third explosion, in the administration of the first President, and if blame attaches any where, to whom it is to be imputed.

HIS TRANSACTIONS IN FRANCE.

The transactions of Colonel Monroe, while Minister to France, belong rather to the history of the nation, than to a succinct and imperfect sketch of its mere Cabinet history.—Nor can it be doubted that, when faithfully exhibited, they will greatly embellish the historic page. Certain it is, that the communications to his government, at a period when Paris and the domiciliary arena of Paris, determined the controversies of Europe; communications written on the spot, and under the feelings of the hour, manifest a wonderful sagacity and accuracy of political observation and judgment, at so early a period of life. They do more. When the march of nations is in ordinary time, the task of the diplomatist, replete

with ancient lore, and not destitute of modern statistics, is comparatively easy. When the tempest and the whirlwind arise ; when chart, and tables, and quadrant, and compass, become worse than useless ; and whenever, in fine, impenetrable obscurity reigns, and particularly if accompanied with danger, then a quality is exacted from human nature, of a higher character than language has usually been competent to describe ; and therefore, by the common consent of mankind, it is denominated—genius. To the humiliation of philosophy, and the confusion of learned pride, let the sublime truth be fearlessly told, that genius is as often the concomitant of the illiterate, as of the most cultivated minds. In every instance, however, where intellectual cultivation is combined with genius, the results are uniformly, more than proportionate to what any calculation could anticipate. Genius discovered America ; genius analyzed lightning ; genius gave steam navigation. Whenever the elements of confusion are in fearful commotion, and ordinary talents recede in dismay, genius, with instinctive resolution, marches onward, and the irradiations of light accompany its steps. In new and untried emergencies, genius bursts open the avenue of success. Thus, when in France, the demolition of ancient usages left the committee of public safety at an utter loss how to receive the envoy of a sister republic, the genius of Monroe broke asunder every fetter, led the American Minister into the bosom of the National Convention itself, and presented a spectacle which interested all Europe. Thus, when the liberties of South America were fluttering in the breeze, that same genius spoke to the congregated monarchs of Europe ; and, with prophetic energy, announced the solemn and awful monition —*thus far may you advance, but there must your proud banners be staid.*

VIGOUR OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY.

The vigour of American diplomacy has been tested on many occasions ; and the despatches of our ministers have not merely equalled, but have transcended, in merit of observation, and elegance of diction, those of the first rate courtiers of Europe. The productions of Mr. Monroe will not suffer in any comparison. His lively picture of the fall of Robespierre,

and his animated narrative of the battle between the revolted sections of Paris and the National Convention, on the 5th day of October, 1795, give history greater interest than romance. The correspondence of Mr. Jefferson, while in France, has been asked for by Europe ; nor ought that of Mr. Monroe to be pretermitted.

GIDDINESS OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

The unsteadiness and vacillation of the French people and government ; their giddy and inconsiderate adoption and abandonment of momentous measures, evidently invested with responsible consequences ; and, what will at first appear strange, though it will prove not the less true, the subordinate attainment of men elevated to high political stations, under their republic, when contrasted with the erudition and intelligence, the sound virtue and wisdom of the American statesmen, rendered it a task of no common difficulty to preserve harmony between France and America, dear as was that object to the people of the latter, and to their administration. There exists no ground to apprehend that, in a candid review of any controversies that may have passed between them, an impartial mind, foreign to both the nations, would pronounce America in the wrong. The policy of pressing, to a greater or less extent, certain new principles which were desired to be admitted between belligerent and neutral powers, of which those of principal importance were, that the neutrality of the ship should protect the property of enemies on board, articles contraband of war excepted ; the diminution of the specific articles to be regarded as contraband ; and the payment for provisions and other articles not generally contraband, seized by becoming such, from being destined to a place under legitimate blockade, might indeed admit of diversity of sentiment ; but that the course of the American government was intended to be in the strictest conformity to the existing law of nations, as far as the antipathies and jealousies of the contending parties would permit, will not be denied.

MR. MONROE FALLS UNDER THE CABINET.

The exertions of Mr. Monroe to maintain harmony with France were unintermittent, and eminently auspicious. Yet a slight incident interrupted his own with the American Cabinet,

The acting Secretary of State, shortly after entering upon the functions of his station, addressed a letter, dated September 12th, 1795, to the Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris, announcing the ratification of the treaty with Great Britain, and vindicating its operation, with relation to France, and which was received by the Minister in the beginning of December following, and answered on the sixth of that month. On the 13th day of June, 1796, Mr. Pickering acquaints Mr. Monroe that *the views of the government of the United States, relating to the British treaty, having been communicated to him, for the sole purpose of furnishing him with the means of removing the objections, and dispelling the jealousies of the French government, he had contented himself merely with having those means in his possession, without applying them to the object for which they were transmitted.* Antecedent to the receipt of this letter by Mr. Monroe, he was recalled. On his return to the United States he published an exposition of the transactions connected with his mission, founded principally on official documents. They afford abundant evidence of his zeal, assiduity, and talents; and present a dignified and triumphant vindication of the American government, in relation to the treaty with Great Britain.

Thus fell the Virginians under the scythe of the Cabinet.—Jefferson, Randolph, Monroe, were in succession cut down, two of them destined to rise gigantic from the fall.—What would have been the fate of Washington, had he tried another administration, with the same Cabinet, is a problem for conjecture. As events proved, the evils of the system were to fall, with accumulated force, on his successor.

MR. ADAMS.

During the eight years of the Washington administration, nothing could transcend the modest and inoffensive deportment of the Vice-President. No intrigues are imputed to him; no attempts to disturb the harmony of the government; no artifices to disparage the merits or consequence of others; no interferences with official appointments; no tamperings with corruption or ambition. His public and his private life exhibited, alike, a model of exemplary purity. Like the other

distinguished actors on the great theatre of the revolution, he had appeared a juvenile and efficient combatant for the rights of America. The early productions of his pen evince the vigour of his intellect. His protracted contest, with a distinguished loyalist of the times, was attended with victory over the assailant. These productions are yet too little known to America. They will compare to advantage, with those of Mr. Jefferson, of similar object, and contemporary æra. After the first effusion of blood, on the memorable nineteenth of April, 1775, Mr. Adams took a bolder and more active course. He first shaped the revolutionary movements of Massachusetts ; and then those of the whole continent. He promoted, with decision and energy, all the measures that led to independence ; and assisted in the formation of the sublime instrument which announced it. Leaving his countrymen united, he sought and obtained for them the friendship and assistance of a powerful nation in Europe. He participated in the negotiations for peace, and secured by his firmness the western country. He then represented the new-born empire, at the court of the maternal kingdom. In a literary work, of great interest, he challenged, for the American principles and institutions of government, the respect of all Europe and of mankind.

IS ELECTED THE SECOND PRESIDENT.

Four distinguished characters had attracted attention as the successor of Washington ; the Vice-President, the late Secretary of State of the first Cabinet, the late Secretary of the Treasury of the same, and the Chief Justice of the United States. American parties differ from those of most other countries, in being not merely personal, but also geographical. The character of the population at one extremity of the empire does not differ from that of the other, so much as that of vicinous shires, counties, provinces, and cantons, in the old world ; and yet the difference is such as to superinduce a diversity of sentiment and feeling. Improperly cherished, with some who have not had the happiness of knowing the good qualities of both, and who forget that, from unavoidable necessity, both have their faults, these

feelings gradually ripen into hatred ; and, unchecked by religion, or by philosophy, the bitterest passions are permitted to range. Freedom of election, and freedom of the press, are republican safety-valves, that discharge the excessive ebullitions of the political passions.—When parties are well defined, and well marshalled, the first principle in their tactics, with great propriety, is, to relinquish all minor pretensions in favour of the candidates of predominant acceptability. The electioneering campaign is thus well sustained on both sides ; and public opinion comes out definite, and precise. Accordingly, the pretensions of the two latter personages alluded to were not exhibited by their friends, or favoured by themselves ; and the competition remained between the two former alone. The demarcation was drawn, with tolerable clearness ; both politically, and geographically. After a contest ably maintained, the victory attached to the candidate of Massachusetts ; and was politely acquiesced in by that of Virginia.

IS FETTERED BY THE CABINET.

It is a great evil, in the Cabinet system, when the legitimate powers of the Presidential office are detorted from the hands in which the Constitution has placed them. The evil is increased, when the existing President has not himself the selection of the Cabinet, which thus claims to govern him.—The second President came into office with a Cabinet Ministry handed over to him by his predecessor. Capriciously to dismiss all these Ministers, for the mere purpose of having new ones, would be a course little creditable to the judgment or humanity of the new President ; and certainly less calculated to advance the interests of the public, to whom, in some cases, the lights of their experience might be invaluable. In a war, for instance, where the national existence might be at stake, the public would be little satisfied with the removal of a Minister of Marine, who might be able to save the nation ; and the substitution of a less competent and more precarious hand, merely because his manners might be more agreeable to a President. On the other hand, it would form a subject of regret, that an office so high, so dignified, so de-

lightful to an intelligent and philanthropic mind, as that of President of the United States of America, should have its personal felicity impaired by an officer being thrust, as it were, into his family, of a rude, treacherous, and malignant character ; an officer whom he has the legitimate power to remove, but yet whom, at the same time, he dare not remove, without encountering greater evils than result from his incumbency. Did the evil arise from the operation of some settled principles in the government ; were the officer irresponsible or irremovable, it would be much more tolerable. But when the remedy rests in the bosom of the President alone, and when the circumstances, from whatever cause, are such, that he dare not apply it, the case is more vexatious. Does our history, however, actually afford cases of a Minister endeavouring to undermine a President ; or of a President endeavouring to undermine a Minister ?

BURSTS THE FETTERS.—THE CASE OF FRIES CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

When President Adams found the fetters of a Cabinet, not given to him by the Constitution, tightening too closely upon him, he bursts the shackles ; and exhibited his native firmness of character. The most trying situation to which, in the execution of his functions, a President is liable, is that in which the life of a fellow-citizen is, at least, reduced to a dependence on his single volition. To this situation, President Adams was brought in the case of Fries, of Pennsylvania, condemned to death for treason. The pardon of Fries, by the President, is severely reprobated by General Hamilton, is disapproved by Colonel Pickering ; and was indeed, in direct contradiction to the advice of the whole Cabinet. In these trying circumstances, Mr. Adams takes a correct view of the nature of the Presidential office, and its relations to those who, having no constitutional powers confided to them, would wrest the exercise of legitimate authority from its constitutional depository. He considered his responsibility, for executive acts, as sole ; and, when this conviction leads him in a direction contrary to the advice of all the ministers, he correctly deems it both the *right*, and the *duty*, of the Presi-

dent, to be governed by his own nature and unbiassed judgment alone. The following are his own words—“This was my situation in more than one instance. It had been so in the nomination of Mr. Gerry; it was, afterward, so, in the pardon of Fries, *two measures that I recollect with infinite satisfaction, and which will console me in my last hour.*” The light in which the principle places counsellors, systematically embodied without the authority of the Constitution, and, in fact, destitute of any official responsibility, in that character, will appear more clear, when the evils attending the cabinet system are reduced to specifications. To illustrate, however, the propriety of the principle, it will be proper to contrast the case of Fries with a case in which an opposite course was pursued to that adopted by President Adams. It occurred to King Charles the first, of Great Britain, and is contained in his posthumous work, to which I presume some friend has attached the title, *Icon Basilica, or Regal Image.* If the typographer should deem the orthography, the capitals, the punctuation, the italics, the parentheses, worthy his curiosity, he will find the following an exact counterpart of the original :

EXTRAORDINARY CONFESSIONS OF THE BRITANIC KING.

“ I resolved to reform what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amisse; and to grant whatever my Reason and Conscience told Me was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept My self within these bounds; and not suffered My own Judgment to have been overborn in some things, more by others importunities, than their arguments; My confidence had lesse betrayed Myself and My Kingdomes, to those advantages which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power and occasion to do mischief.”

“ I looked upon my Lord of Stafford, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, than ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affairs of state.”

“ For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and many enemies:—Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphere, and with

so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integrity."

" Though I cannot in my judgment approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the temper of that people, more than led by his own disposition to any heighth and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousenesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies."

" I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, then in the business of that unfortunate Earl: when between my own unsatisfiednesse in Conscience, and a necessity (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of some people; I was persuaded by those, that I think wished me well, to choose rather what was safe, than what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of my kingdoms with men, before that inward exactness of Conscience before God."

" And indeed I am so farre from excusing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in my Judgment I thought not, by any clear law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret: which as a signe of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinfull frailty, that it discovered more a fear of Man, then of God; whose name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compensate."

" I see it bad exchange to wound a mans own Conscience, thereby to salve state sores; to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans own bosome."

" Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that Maxime. *Better one man perish, (though unjustly) then the people be displeased, or destroyed.* For,

" In all likelihood, I could never have suffered with my People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I

vindicated *Staffords* innocence, at least by denying to signe that destructive BILL, according to that Justice which My Conscience suggested to Me, then I have done since I gratified some mens unthankfull importunitiess with so cruel a favour. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Me to signe that Bill, have been so farre from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the people, that no men have been harassed and crushed more than they: he onely hath been least vexed by them, who counselled me not to consent against the vote of my own Conscience; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the sinfull rashnesse of that businesse."

" To which being in My soul so fully conscious, those Judgments God hath pleased to send upon Me, are so much the more wel-come, as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath sanctified so to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the best rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments; and the peace of My Conscience, before the preservation of My Kingdoms."

" Nor hath any thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunitiess, which since have sought to gain a like consent from Me to Acts, wherein my Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Me, in My Lord of *Strafford's* businesse."

" Not that I resolved to have employed him in my affairs against the advice of my Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his death, of whose guiltlessnesse I was better assured, then any man living could be."

" Nor were the crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses: especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that House: And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Strafford's* greatness and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their integrity in their votes, were by Posting their Names, exposed to the popular calumny hatred and fury, which grew them so exorbitant in their cla-

mours for justice, (that is, to have both Myself and the two Houses Vote, and do as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurre with the condemning party, then satisfied that of right they ought so to do."

" And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tells the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loth should be repeated to themselves."

" This tenderness and regret I find in my soul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in shedding one mans bloud unjustly, (though under the colour and formalities of justice, and pretences of avoiding public mischiefs) which may (I hope) be some evidence before God and Man, to all Posterity, that I am farre from bearing justly the vast load and guilt of all that bloud which hath been shed in this unhappy Warre ; which some men will needs charge on *Me*, to ease their own souls ; who am, and ever shall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjustly, then to lose my own."

What an awful admonition from a monarch about to die by a public execution, to those entrusted with high executive functions to exercise them with justice and firmness.

THE CABINET ENDEAVOUR TO FORCE THE PRESIDENT INTO A WAR.

But it was not alone in extending executive grace to Fries, that President Adams was thwarted in his administration by his Cabinet Ministers. A war with France, whether in his own judgment avoidable or not, seems to have been determined on for him ; and, in the selection of officers, for the conduct of a war so important, his views and judgment were to be both forestalled and controlled. The following are extracts from certain historical memoirs, which have very recently appeared from the pen of Mr. Pickering, Secretary of State in the administration of President Adams. They are written in a plain, correct, and perspicuous style ; abound in interesting facts, and forcible argument, and exhibit a rare felicity in the translation of the classical quotations introduced.

" The Secretary of War, McHenry, having been sent to Mount Vernon, with General Washington's commission, I

was charged with the duties of his office during his absence, and was with Mr. Adams when he was making a list of nominations to the Senate from that which Mr. McHenry had transmitted from Mount Vernon by the mail."

"The President proposed to give rank to Colonel Smith, as a brigadier, before Dayton, who had also served in the revolutionary war; and to name the latter for adjutant-general."

"Leaving the President, I went to Congress Hall, and sent the door-keeper to ask some of the Senators of my acquaintance to step out."

"I informed them of the nomination of Colonel Smith, to be Adjutant-General, presently to be laid before them, and told them why I thought he ought not to be approved."

"The nomination was made, and the Senate were inclined, at once, to give it their negative, but some of Mr. Adams's particular friends, wishing to save the feelings of himself and his family, desired the Senate to postpone their decision till the next day, and they would, in the mean time, wait on the President, and endeavour to prevail on him to withdraw the nomination."

"They did wait on him—but in vain; finally telling him, however, that if the nomination were not withdrawn, it would be negatived."

"'I will not withdraw the nomination,' was his answer.

"The next morning the nomination was taken up, and negatived by all the Senators, except two.

"Every circumstance here stated was related to me, immediately, by one or more of the Senators who were present.

"I certainly had expressed my opinion to not more than half a dozen Senators, all federalists; and not to one who was in the 'opposition.'

"I was not unaware of the hazard I ran, in speaking to Senators in this case; and perfectly remember remarking to one of them, that what I had said to him, and some others, would, probably, by some means, come to the President's ears, and cause my removal from office; but adding—'I have done only what I thought to be my duty, and am willing to abide the consequences.'"

The attention of the individual citizen, on whose anxiety for the preservation of republican institutions their fate must, ultimately, depend, is now again asked to the prominent fact, exhibited in this disclosure, from so authentic a source. "*A cabinet minister adopts secret steps; steps unknown to, and, perhaps, unsuspected by, the President, to defeat his measures.*"

THE PRESIDENT BREAKS THE CABINET.

The President did remove Colonel Pickering from office; but whether the removal was occasioned by the circumstance on which the apprehensions of Colonel Pickering were founded, or by any other cause, or causes, and what these were, is a subject which still remains enveloped with mystery. Dr. McHenry, the Secretary of War, was, nearly at the same time, and for causes, not now distinctly understood, also removed.

President Adams makes the following remarks, relative to the removal of Colonel Pickering :

"Reasons of state are not always to be submitted to newspaper discussions.

"It is sufficient for me to say, that I had reasons enough, not only to satisfy me, but to make it my indispensable duty. Reasons which, upon the coolest deliberation, I still approve.

"I was not so ignorant of Mr. Pickering, his family relations, his political, military, and local connexions, as not to be well aware of the consequences to myself.

"I said, at the time, to a few confidential friends, that I signed my own dismission when I signed his, and that he would rise again, but I should fall for ever.

"His removal was one of the most deliberate, virtuous, and disinterested actions of my life."

In these remarks, the mind of the individual citizen—still intent on discovering, and if possible, obviating, the dangers which threaten the accomplishment of his dearest hopes—will find a confirmation of what has been before adverted to—the extreme delicacy of either removing or retaining, under the prevailing arrangements, a cabinet minister, irresponsible as such, by a President to whom he is seriously obnoxious.

The pardon of Fries, the removal of the Secretaries of War and State, and some other causes connected with the history of the times, evoked from General Hamilton a publication of very high celebrity, entitled, "A Letter concerning the public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esquire, President of the United States."

TRIUMPH OF THE CABINET OVER THE PRESIDENT.

Dr. Rush has observed, and perhaps the remark is not unwarranted by Sydenham, that when an epidemic prevails, minor diseases assume its type. Thus, when the election of a President of the United States approaches, the body politic assumes a peculiar temperament, and almost every transaction of public and private life, derives a colouring from the eventful contest. The publication of General Hamilton was undoubtedly, calculated to effect the election then approaching. In this conflict, the second President, entwined, opposed, and overruled, by the cabinet functionaries, devised and transmitted by the first: with geographical and political predilections, not a little formidable, still to encounter; and assailed, at the same time, by foe and by friend; after contending, with marvellous fortitude, for a well-earned renown, against the tide of evils which beset him, yielded the national helm to the third President. The termination of the administration of President Adams was gradually succeeded by the spontaneous retirement of the whole of the Cabinet.

THE THIRD PRESIDENT.

There exists some reason to believe, that the original construction of the Presidential office was not perfectly acceptable to the mind of Mr. Jefferson. When the federal Constitution was formed, both Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson were absent from the United States, and neither of them had a direct participation in its edification. To the labours of General Hamilton, and of Mr. Madison, are we principally indebted for that noble production of the human mind. It will be recollected, that Mr. Jay had no direct agency in digesting this instrument. Yet Mr. Jefferson, Mr Jay, and Mr. Adams, had respectively and successively, it is believed, been the principal authors of the three invaluable constitutions, that of Virginia, that of New-York, and that of Massachusetts.

These three constitutions are invaluable, because they are all originals; they were framed independently the one of the other; the first sparks of democracy since the days of antiquity. They are the productions of three of the most wise and profound minds to which the North-American revolution, so fertile of men and events, gave birth; and are of course, the elements of which the constitutions of subsequent epochs are composed. The state constitutions, of the North-American confederacy which have been formed prior, and subsequently to the federal constitution, deserve a very critical examination. So do all the amendments which have been adopted, or even which have been proposed or suggested to the Federal Constitution itself. The aspect, under which they are properly to be considered, widens greatly when the whole are regarded as the materials with which the human intellect has been, and is still to be, engaged, in France, in Spain, in Columbia, in Brazil, in Greece, and in other countries, whenever a temple is to be erected to liberty. It behoves the statesman and patriot of North-America to follow, with diligence, all the movements of human genius, on this high subject, in all parts of the globe, in order that his own country may not be left behind, in any valuable or useful improvement; whatever source or origin it may have. It will cheer him, in the commencement of this praise-worthy task, to find the reflection not less just than it is singular—that hitherto the Federal Constitution has not been outstripped, in a single essential particular. Eminently the product of *good heads* and *good hearts*, it maintains a precedence alike sanctioned by merit and by time. The difficulties of the government of the human species, still lie where they have always lain—in the construction and in the action of the executive power. We are experiencing, at this moment, a full portion of these difficulties. We have made various and unsuccessful attempts to probe the sources, and to obviate the effects of these political maladies. The other nations of mankind have given us, as yet, no aid; and we must still rely on indigenous talent, and our native resources. The defects, in the constitution of the North-America Executive power, are many and glaring; and they will be laid upon in this discussion, with no

sparing hand. Yet, the individual citizen, taking with him, for solitary reflection, the remedies proposed, must make a solemn pause, before he determines on his course of action. Much has, unquestionably, been gained for human liberty, for human rights, and for human happiness ; and a few precipitate and ill-advised measures might lose the whole. Yet, still it will comport with the strictest propriety ; it will indeed, be deemed to be required, by the most elevated ethics ; that every proposition should be received, with candid attention, which has for its object so high a purpose as the amelioration of the condition of the human species, in its most important of the moral relations, that of government ; and particularly in the most difficult branch of that relation, Executive government.

SUPPOSED TO BE ADVERSE TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE OFFICE.

The letter, written by Mr. Jefferson, from Europe, before his departure to take on him the functions of the Department of State, contains some cirticisms on the American Executive ; but is not definite as to the supposed defects, nor does it propose the remedies. So far as it is predictive, it was prophetic. Its anticipations were all wonderfully realized, at the very first occurrence of a contested election ; that of a successor to the great American military chief. France suspended her course of operation with regard to America, in order to know the result of this election ; and the conduct of Great Britain was to be regulated, in a very great degree, by that of France. Remotely, the conduct of all Europe had a dependence on that of these two nations. Never was the election of a king of Poland so interesting to Europe, as this election of a President of the United States of America. In the midst of the doubts respecting Mr. Jefferson's opinions, reason will afford some clue towards ascertaining the results in which they would, probably, terminate. Either he was in favour of a table and independent executive power, or preferred a government without such an executive, as the revolutionary Congress of America, and as, afterward, the National Convention of France. Arguments, which are deemed irrefragable, might be adduced, to prove that the latter form, in the abstract, does not deserve the preference ; a

just, steady, well-informed, and vigorous executive administration be regarded as desirable in the government of men. Some of these arguments must have occurred to the mind of Mr. Jefferson. But the predilections of Mr. Jefferson for a stable and independent Executive are, perhaps, conclusively manifested by the Constitution of Virginia. The question of a sole or plural depository is the next that must arise. Here the opinion of America is unanimous; and there is no ground to believe that the sentiments of Mr. Jefferson differ, on this head, from those of his countrymen. The third inquiry will, then, be on a single Executive Magistrate, without, or with, a constitutional council. The fourth would regard the relationship of the Executive Magistrate to such a council, if admitted. It is most probable that the impressions of Mr. Jefferson would lead him to the preference of a single Executive Magistrate, perhaps aided by a constitutional council, for the United States of America. But the principle of relationship between the supreme magistrate and the council, if the latter should be admitted, it would be difficult to determine. If, in the ascription of the principal authorship of the original constitution of New-York to Mr. Jay, an error shall have been committed, it will be corrected with promptitude. With the slight reservation which has been referred to, the approbation of the constitution by Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Adams, was, perhaps entire.

BUT GIVES IT A FIRM PRACTICAL SUPPORT.

The part of the philosopher, studying the good of mankind, and employed in the investigation of those truths which are intimately connected with their welfare and happiness, is different from that of a practical statesman. While the former may pursue his speculations to their extreme range, it is the imperious duty of the latter to erect a firm purpose, on the basis of things, as they are. This line of distinction was scrupulously observed by President Jefferson. Whatever speculative opinions he may have indulged, relative to the form of government best adapted to the United States, when called to the administration, his main consideration was the correct execution of the existing constitution and laws.

Accordingly, no other change of importance was attempted, in the construction of the government, than one indicated by recent experience—that of a distinct suffrage for the Vice-Presidency.—This change, Mr. Pickering thinks, should be called an *alteration* merely, and not an amendment. Mr. Morris, of New-York, also disapproves the change; preferring the original provisions of the Constitution. Mr. Jay takes a more enlarged and profound view of the subject. Governor Wolcott recommends a provision of a different nature. It is a question well meriting investigation; and some observations relative to the Vice-Presidency will, therefore, hereafter, be submitted.

Mr. Pickering, controverting the claims of Mr. Jefferson to the character of a statesman and a philosopher, thinks, at the same time, that philosophy has little to do with government. In this, he differs with the ancients; and, particularly, with one of the most celebrated consuls of Rome. Cicero observes, that mankind will never be well governed, until kings become philosophers, or philosophers become kings. In the accomplished and heroic ruler of Prussia, history may be regarded as presenting an instance of the first branch of the alternative; and, as a magistrate clothed with the attributes of supreme executive authority, the second branch of the alternative may, perhaps, be considered as exemplified in the case of the American President. Which is most conducive to the happiness of mankind, it will be, by no means, difficult to answer. Nor can it be doubted, that while the natural sciences adorn, the ethic, economic, and historic, are essential to the character of the statesman.

THE CABINET SYSTEM NEARLY EXPIRES.

With the first Cabinet, it has been seen, expired its harmony; and, with the administration of the second President, almost expired the Cabinet itself. The third President entered upon his administration, unfettered by the remnants of a Cabinet belonging to his predecessor; and was, thus, relieved from an embarrassment that had severely affected Mr. Adams. Mr. Jefferson did not exactly adopt the constitutional mode of requiring the opinion in writing, of the heads of

departments, on matters relating to their respective departments ; but so much disused or relaxed the regular and systematic consultations, familiar in the practice of the first and second Presidents, that it was, at length, emphatically announced, on the floor of the House of Representatives, by a distinguished and observant member, from the State of Virginia, "*There is no Cabinet.*" Certain it is, that the administration of President Jefferson, which endured for a period of eight years, terminated with the same tranquillity with which it commenced ; without any explosions or dissensions, exciting the attention of the nation, or creating him personal anxiety. Whether the benefit of enlightened, independent, and constitutional counsel, would have impressed on the most delicate and responsible measures of the third President, any difference of feature, is not easy to determine.

BUT IS REVIVED AND CONTINUED.

The administrations of the fourth and fifth Presidents have not been attended with the same felicitous circumstances, which characterized that of the third ; an entire exemption from cabinet explosion and dissatisfactions. The departure from the administration of the Secretary of State, under the fourth President, excited, at the time, much public observation. With respect to the situation of the Cabinet, at the present juncture, it would be indelicate to enter into detail. The attention of the nation is occupied with a paramount question ; but that important question is not, entirely, unconnected with a consideration of what effects the Cabinet system has, hitherto, produced in our government, and of what effects it is likely, in future, to produce.

EVILS OF THE CABINET SYSTEM.

The occasion is, indeed, eminently favourable to a fair examination of the evils incident to the system itself. If these evils are found to be serious, and of threatening aspect, an inquiry will naturally be directed to the remedies. Though, in the first instance, the remedies resorted to may not prove perfectly efficacious and satisfactory ; experience will render aid, and light will be derived from different quarters. In a government constructed as ours is, the mind of the individual

citizen must be constantly engaged with the situation and prospects of his country, and the channels by which public sentiment may gradually be manifested, are so fast multiplying, that the opinion of no man may be considered unimportant. A detailed exposition of some of the evils attending the existing system, will, therefore, be undertaken. Some remedies will, in consequence, be suggested. In this undertaking, it is very far from the intention to exasperate, or to wound the feelings of any one. The remarks, which will be offered, are directed to the good of the country, alone ; and are neither intended to fortify, nor to disparage the pretensions of any citizen, to any trust. They are free from any combination, pre-concert, or co-operation, with any one whatever ; and are presented without anonymous or pseudonymous disguise. Originating in no spirit of intrigue, malice, or ostentation, they are the communings of one private citizen with another, on concerns reciprocally interesting to them, as members of one great and interesting family. Submitted, exclusively, in a spirit of candour and simplicity, if they do not benefit the sincere inquirer, they will not injure him.

The Evils of the existing Executive Government of the United States.

THE FIRST EVIL.

DIFFICULTY IN SELECTING THE SUCCESSOR OF A PRESIDENT.

The want of some channel, in which public sentiment may naturally flow, in the choice of a successor to the actual incumbent, may be considered as one of the defects which characterize the course of action on the present system.

The original Constitution, no doubt, contemplated the office of the Vice-President as subserving this purpose ; but has experience justified the anticipation, whether under the primary provisions, or the amendments, by which they were superseded ?

The entire exclusion of the Vice-President from the counsels of the President, during the whole term of the administration of the latter, was little qualified to render the former either intimately cognizant of the plans of policy pursued, or best adapted to carry them through; whether as the temporary, or as the final successor of the President.

Accordingly, in the very first instance of the succession of the Vice-President to the Presidency, an interruption of harmony between himself and the Cabinet of his predecessor ensued. The maintenance of harmony between the chief executive magistrate and his confidential advisers, is not only essential to their reciprocal well-being and success, but is also intimately connected with the tranquillity and the prosperity of the nation itself.

In the second instance of the succession of the Vice-President to the Presidency, so great a change in the national policy occurred, as to produce a total revolution in the heads of departments; and, of course, so far as it continued to subsist in the Cabinet Ministry.

If the experience acquired in office be at any time valuable to a nation, and in the ordinary course of affairs it cannot well fail to be so, it is an advantage totally sacrificed on the occurrence of an event of this description; and it is a result arising not from any necessity, not from any want of skill or fidelity in the administrators of the several subordinate departments, with respect to the concerns with which they are particularly conversant, but from their adventitious quality of confidential advisers of the chief executive magistrate, on the general policy and interests of the nation.

After the amendments to the Constitution, requiring a distinct designation of the Vice-President, two singular consequences followed in practice.

The Vice-President selected was, in no instance, the person whom the nation wished to become, eventually, the President.

The Secretary of State, one of the most confidential advisers of the President, and who was at once charged with the external and the internal relations of the nation, came to be looked to, with some degree of regularity, as the successor of the President.

Thus, so far as the practice may be adopted as a principle, the President becomes, virtually, invested with the choice of his own successor.

THE SECOND EVIL.

CONTEST OF THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS FOR THE SUCCESSION.

When the pretensions of the Secretary of State to the office of President happen to be seriously opposed, and with any prospect of ultimate success, his prominent competitors may sometimes arise, out of the same Cabinet of which he is himself a member.

Thus, if the selection of his successor, by an existing President, be admitted in any degree an evil, it is one which is enlarged and propagated by this course of action.

It cannot well fail from this course, that the seeds of jealousy and dissension will be laid in an existing administration.

Nor does the evil terminate in embittering and distracting the administration of the President for the time being. It is calculated to produce, in whatever way such a conflict might result, sudden, great, and unexpected revolutions, in all the subordinate departments of the government.

THE THIRD EVIL.

EXCLUSIVE OF THE PRETENSIONS OF OTHERS.

It might sometimes happen, in such a government as that of the United States, that the real preference of the nation should attach to some person, not one of the Heads of Departments, all of whom are, in the first instance, the selection of a President.

In such a case, the pretensions of others than Heads of Departments, however strong they might in other respects naturally be, may be greatly weakened in a competition with those who are possessed of an immediate official influence.

THE FOURTH EVIL.

PERVERSION OF OFFICIAL PATRONAGE.

Whether the competition for the Presidency be among the Heads of Departments, or between them and persons not in executive office, too strong a temptation is held out for such an exercise of official patronage as may be less adapted to the public service, than to promote a particular result in the election.

In the endeavour to avert such an imputation, there is some liability to error; and, even where no real foundation for it exists, it is a disposition which will be too often suspected, and perhaps on some occasions be unjustly imputed.

THE FIFTH EVIL.

UNGENEROUS OPPOSITION.

Whoever may prove the successful candidate for the Presidency, on a system resembling that which at present prevails, one consequence may be almost foreseen.

An opposition to his administration will be organized as soon as he becomes known, and perhaps even before he is inducted to the office.

This opposition will be a tide, attending his whole term of service, perhaps gathering gradual strength in its course, and probably arriving at its height toward the close of his first administration.

Instead of a generous support of his measures, and a cordial regard to the welfare of the country, the whole struggle will be directed to prevent, by every possible means, and at all events, the re-election of the same incumbent to the office.

No rectitude of principle, no purity of conduct, no conciliatory wisdom, can tame this opposition, or appease its animosity. The more sound, correct, and unexceptionable the course of transaction, the greater dissatisfaction will it give. Blame will be bestowed by anticipation, and in the gross; and every thing will be wrong, not because objects are distorted, but the vision oblique; not because the judgment is im-

paired, but the heart corrupted. Both talent and virtue may exist, but antipathy and prejudice will convert them into incapacity and crime. Thus will a President of the United States find it impossible to give satisfaction, however worthy his motives, and however enlightened his councils.

Is this a state of things honourable to republicanism ?

Is it honourable to human nature ?

Is it not obvious that, from the preliminary ordeal which every candidate has to go through, it is impossible for a character, positively bad, to attain the office of President of the United States ? Though one candidate may be capable of effecting more good than another, yet all are capable of effecting some good ; and one, that which another could not so readily have accomplished. Would not, therefore, diversities of attainment, and diversities of geographical relationship, be desirable in the administration of executive government ; and might not the principal portions of a large empire, and particularly one of a republican cast, enjoy their relative and successive claims to influence, and to magistracy, with a certain degree of acquiescence and content, from all parties ?

THE SIXTH EVIL.

THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT THE SPORT OF CONTINGENCY.

The anomalous modes, in which the electors of the President and Vice-President are chosen; open a door for intrigue ; and render the election too much the sport of contingency and chance.

In some states, the Electors are chosen by the Legislature ; in others by the people.

Where the choice of the Electors is by the people, in some cases it is by general ticket, and in others, simply by districts.

Nor, where the election is by districts, is the mode uniform throughout.

Whenever it is apparent by the event, that a difference in the result would have been produced by a difference in the mode of the election ; and when that difference in the result would have been more agreeable to the parties affected by

such difference, in the mode ; real ground of dissatisfaction will be presented, and opposition, otherwise unreasonable, rendered more excusable.

Legislative elections are peculiarly exposed to intrigue ; and, in elections by general ticket, while the voice of the majority is rendered effective, the voice of large minorities is entirely sacrificed.

Fairness, therefore, would seem to require that, whatever mode of election should be deemed preferable, it should be a uniform mode.

THE SEVENTH EVIL.

EVILS OF AN ELECTION BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The attempt of such an incongruous mixture, as that of the principal of popular suffrage, with that of state sovereignty, in the election of a President and Vice-President of the United States ; however laudable the views, in which it may have originated ; reflects, perhaps, little ultimate credit on our political sagacity, and soundness of judgment.

Reason revolts, at once, from such a political arrangement as assigns to one portion of the people, in a certain geographical position, thirty-four times the weight of the same portion of the people, in a different geographical position.

The distribution of the Union into equal and fair Congressional Districts, is attended with some difficulty and trouble ; but, when effected, after much time, preparation, and expense, the benefits are impaired, or lost, and the sources of contingency and confusion increased, by the augmentation of the number of the districts, by two in every state, for the election of the President and Vice-President.

When the election of the President of the United States passes to the house of Representatives ; and the representation from every state, however unequal in its numbers, becomes entitled to an equal and single vote ; the disparity, unfairness, and impropriety, are presented under an aspect too glaring to admit of defence or apology. Accident, intrigue, or obliquity of conduct, are permitted to have an operation.

which might render the result very unsatisfactory to the people; however disposed to order, and to peace, and to make every sacrifice, not absolutely inconsistent with their rights, for the preservation of harmony, tranquillity, and the existence of their institutions.

THE EIGHTH EVIL.

EVILS OF SPORADIC ELECTIONS.

It is an advantage that the day of the election of the President and Vice-President should be the same throughout the whole United States.

It is a disadvantage, when the day of the election of the Electors, is a day other than that of the general election, in the State.

To leave his home, and to suspend his avocations, for the purpose of attending an election, is some inconvenience to the citizen. When this inconvenience becomes too greatly multiplied, a degree of inattention, and of consequent indifference is produced. It would not be unimportant to compare the votes given for the Electors of President, with the votes given on other occasions, throughout the several states.

Nor, perhaps, would it be other than a benefit, if a uniform day of general election prevailed throughout the United States.

The people act with more effect, when they are accustomed to act together; their strength is more fully brought out; and their sentiments are more accurately tested.

Considerations of climate, agricultural occupation, and habits of public business, probably lead to the preference of the autumnal to the vernal season. With reference to general leisure, and to general health, perhaps, the second Thursday in November might combine as much advantage as any other day; but time would be requisite to render any day, differing from that which has been usual, in particular parts, perfectly convenient. In many parts, also, elections occupy more than one day; and some of them have reference to the commencement of peculiar terms of service;

and some to peculiar local customs. When, however, a desire to economize time, and to concentrate opinion, prevails, local inconvenience is apt, gradually, to yield to general good.

THE NINTH EVIL.

A SECRETARYSHIP TO THE PRESIDENCY WANTED.

It is also one of those minor evils, with which the present system is accompanied, that there is not an official Secretary to the Presidency.

In the course of thirty-six years, during which the office has subsisted, a variety of memorials, petitions, addresses, remonstrances, letters, papers, documents, and communications, some affecting public, others private, interests and history; some of temporary, others of permanent utility; have been received, or issued.

Incessant occupation has not permitted their arrangement, even for immediate use; much less for proper care, and preservation.

Accordingly, some have been chaotically deposited in different public offices; some are lost, some have been destroyed, some have perished, some been mutilated, some, perhaps, purloined; confidence, with respect to some, may have been violated; and others, for want of a safe and confidential depository for them, may have reluctantly been regarded as private property, and carried away from the seat of government.

The accommodation of the executive, and the dignity of the nation, require a more careful and responsible custody of documents of this character, than the present arrangements afford.

Where is now the original draft of the declaration of American Independence, as reported by their Committee to Congress? Is it in France, is it in Italy, or is it in America; or has it perished? Where is the intercepted despatch of the citizen Fauchet? What has become of the original report on the distribution of the Western Territory into States? What

of certain original letters of General Tureau, Mr. Russell, and Gen. Jackson? What treasures of secret history may not the bureau of Mr. Pickering one day afford? What materials of malevolence those of others? How, above all, has the diary of General Washington, during an important period of his presidency, become also missing? What individual has, in present possession, the original, and who the original draught, of the valedictory address of General Washington, to the people of the United States?

Provisions for the reception, from the proper authority, of strictly executive documents; and for the due preservation, disposition, and authentication, of them; are not only in themselves expedient, but are also sanctioned by the practice of other nations.

THE TENTH EVIL.

THE UNJUST DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE METROPOLIS.

It is a deformity in the American government of no ordinary character, that a portion of its population exists in a state of permanent privation of political rights; and in a condition of absolute disfranchisement.

It might, at first, be imagined, and particularly by those who are strangers to our history, and to the peculiarity of our institutions, that the portion of our population, in such a singular condition, is marked by some degradation of intellect, by some power of resource, by some defect of patriotic feeling; or, at least, by such remoteness from the seat of government, and consequent comparative obscurity, that their very remarkable and inconsistent situation, has been merely overlooked, and has entirely escaped observation.

What will be the surprise of the stranger when he is informed that the portion of our population, in this predicament, is universally admitted to be the most intelligent, in proportion to its amount, of any in the United States; and is, perhaps, excelled in that particular, by none in the world of equal amount; that it is, at the same time, a very opulent assemblage of mankind; that in patriotic feeling and exertion,

it is always in the foremost rank ; and that, so far from being remote from the seat of government, it is at the very seat of the government itself, that the evil exists ; and that it is in the very bosom of this population that its functions are administered.

The American citizens residing in the Territory of Columbia, ought not only to be admitted to a participation in the election of the President of the United States, but to a representation in one, or in both Houses of the Legislature ; and to such a degree of authority, in the initiation of their local regulations, as, while it preserved inviolate the paramount privilege of the General Government, might, in other respects, extend to them all the usual advantages of self government.

THE ELEVENTH EVIL.

THE CORRUPTION OF THE LEGISLATURE.

There is no spectacle in human affairs more sublime ; there is no institution with which the existence, the preservation, and the enjoyment of liberty stand so intimately connected, as that of a legislative body, free, enlightened, and pure.

In the first written Constitution of the age, it was announced, as an elementary principle, that the legislative, the executive, and the judicial powers ought to be *distinct*, and that they ought to be *independent*.

Neither in that Constitution, nor in any other, have they been made so. In the Anglo-American Constitutions, the English government has been the prototype ; and, in that, the powers are all singularly blended. The Espan-American republics were not directly exposed to the same temptation ; and, accordingly, it might be expected that this feature would, in their constitutions, become less predominant. In fact, in the Constitution last erected—that of the Federal Republic of Central America, or Guatimala—a direct, a bold, and perhaps a happy attempt has been made at their total separation. The line is also drawn with more clearness than in the Con-

stitution of the United States of North America, between federal and national powers. Guided by an incomplete knowledge of our institutions, but directed by a reasoning power of which the growth has been alike astonishing, for its rapidity and for its vigour, Spanish America will soon become an object of great interest to mankind. Its constitutions, as well as the royal written Constitutions, which have been framed, and are framing in America and in Europe, merit more attention than can here be bestowed.

LEGISLATOR UNDER EXECUTIVE INFLUENCE.

Two evils might attach to the relationship between the legislative and the executive power. First, The legislative power might be under the influence of the executive power. Secondly, The legislative might control the executive power—in the exercise of its exclusive and legitimate functions. Too unfortunately, both these evils exist in our government. It would be a subject of congratulation if the misfortune terminated here. But it extends further. Legislative impurity has been evinced, in transactions, in which the executive was unconcerned.

The legislative power is liable to influence from the executive by appointments to offices of trust, dignity, or emolument, during the term limited for the legislative function.

The legislators may, also, have relatives or personal friends, or political friends ; the gratification of whom, by executive promotions, may excite a gratitude of peculiar sensibility.

LEGISLATOR ATTEMPTING TO CONTROL THE EXECUTIVE.

They may be occasionally induced, from the prominence and honour of their situations, to attempt an inordinate control over the executive, in official appointments.

Next to integrity and fidelity, the consideration of most importance to the public, as well as to those more immediately responsible for the prompt and efficient discharge of public duties, is the degree of personal qualification for the particular trust.

Instead of this, sometimes, geographical pretension, and, sometimes, strength of patronage, are urged.

The conductor of an important and extensive department of public service, is sometimes addressed by legislative functionaries, in language of the following import :

“ You have so many in employment from such a state, and so many from such another. We are fairly entitled to the preference now. You *must* make this appointment from our State.”

On other occasions he is told, “ This candidate has the recommendation of such a person, the interest of such another ; he is supported by our *whole delegation* !”

Nay, the Legislator, travelling further from the special purpose for which his constituent has selected him, and assuming a bolder tone, has almost advanced a claim to the exclusive patronage over the district which he represents, and resorted to a language of which the following is, perhaps, no unfair interpretation :

“ Sir, I am told you have lately made an appointment in *my district*, without consulting *me*.—How dare you, sir, meddle with *my district*, without letting *me* know of it ? I beg, sir, you will not fail to give *me* notice of the next appointment that is to be made in *my district* !”

LEGISLATIVE BARGAINING.

Compromise and bargaining are very likely to occur among legislative functionaries, when they assume an agency or control too direct, or too intimate, with respect to the executive province of the government. Tardy improvements, in their appropriate province, naturally result. The attention is engrossed by the question who shall be the next President or Vice-President, or fill such an office.

One step farther may compromise and bargaining be carried among legislators—to subjects appertaining to the legislative province, and not relating to executive appointments.

It has been alleged, and the genius of secret history is so far awakening from slumber, that the veil may soon be lifted which conceals the truth, that the assumption, by the general government, of a portion of the revolutionary debt of Massachusetts, was effected by a *bargain*, relating to the location

of the seat of the national government; and that *that bargain was reduced to writing, and, signed by the parties to it.* If so, who has now the original document?

THE TWELFTH EVIL.

EXECUTIVE INFRACTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

A solemn and written Constitution should be deemed so sacred, that even when proceedings are recommended by evident and obvious utility, and the want of sanction is rather to be ascribed to neglect than prohibition, care should be taken, at as early a period as practicable, to legitimate the deviation.

The Constitution contains a provision that the President of the United States shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and that he shall not receive, within that period, "*any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.*"

The State of Pennsylvania offered to the President of the United States the use of a house, built by the State, for his accommodation. Under this provision, the President declined the acceptance of it. Yet the same President, and, after him, all other Presidents, have accepted and used a house built by the United States, for their accommodation; and, along with the house, have also accepted and used a partial supply of household furniture.

The Republic of France offered to the minister of the United States of America, the use of a national house. Under an analogous provision, the Minister declined the acceptance of it; and the act was specially approved by the President of the United States.

According to these constructions, the use of a house for personal accommodation is deemed an emolument. That of furniture must be equally so. Mere place cannot make an essential difference. If the use of a house be an *emolument* at Paris or at Philadelphia, it must be equally so at Washington.

ton. The mere *authority*, supplying the personal accommodation, cannot make the whole difference. If the acceptance of an *emolument* from the State of Pennsylvania, or from any other of the individual States be interdicted to the President, that of any from the United States, beyond the stated compensation is equally so.

In the casuistry of the Roman government, it strikes with a degree of surprise the modern mind, that a question should arise, *whether a horse could be made a consul*. Extremes sometimes meet or impinge. Thus it is not a little amusing, that, in the American government, a grave question should arise and be regarded in different lights by distinguished jurists, *whether a horse could be deemed household furniture*.

HOUSEHOLD ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT UNDER THE CONFEDERATION.

The inveteracy of habit may, in some degree, account for these singularities, so far as they have a direct bearing on the executive government of the United States.

In the origin of the republic, no compensation was assigned to its chief, distinct from his daily pay as a delegate from an individual State; and this varied among the different States. Accordingly, private fortune, as in the government of Venice, became an indispensable requisite for public station; and the private fortunes of the four first Presidents became much impaired by their political situations.

This evil at length attracted the attention of Congress. On Wednesday, the 16th day of December, 1778, they resolved to reimburse their Presidents, and the representatives of such as were not living; and to provide a remedy for the future. They accordingly determined, on that day, that a convenient furnished dwelling house should be hired for their accommodation; and that a table, carriage, and servants, should be provided for them; all at the public expense. They gave them both a Secretary and a steward. They required a monthly adjustment of the household expenditures; and, it is believed, at a subsequent period restricted their annual maximum to nine thousand dollars. It was with difficulty that the expenses were kept within the limits assigned. Those of the

last President, probably, transcended it ; and perhaps those household expenses, have not, to this day, been definitely adjusted. When the office of Steward expired, and Mr. Richard Phillips left the seat of government, with a reputation perfectly unimpeached, part of the furniture, and particularly some of the plate procured in France, remained for public use. The rent of the house, its repairs, and the bill of groceries, were defrayed, during the administration of General Washington, until February, 1790. Congress adopted the policy of special appropriations for the support of the household, amounting to about fourteen thousand dollars for a Presidential term ; dropping the items of table, carriage, and servants ; and with that economic prodigality which occasionally characterizes their proceedings, pretermitting eventual accountability. From this fund, it is believed, the house-rent was defrayed, until the arrival of the government at Washington ; and after that period, when the edifice assigned to the personal accommodation of the President was conflagrated by an exploit of the British arms, than which there are many in history infinitely more glorious, his temporary house-rent was borne by the public.

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION NECESSARY.

At the present day, the grounds, the edifice, and the household, appropriated to the use of the President, are becoming, perhaps, worthy the head of such a nation. Certain it is, that much of his establishment would be incongruous with the condition of a private citizen, in the present times ; and therefore, if at all provided, should be so at the public expense.

As the legislators who make the requisite appropriations, and the Presidents who accept their use, are equally bound, and that by oath, to support the Constitution ; as three coincident consecutive constructions, *in pari materia* have been given, by those who have filled the station ; and as, if those constructions be correct, there is a plain departure from the letter of the Constitution ; the propriety is respectfully submitted of constitutionally legitimatizing such provisions for the mansion and household of the President, as the nation, in its wisdom, may judge expedient.

THE THIRTEENTH EVIL.

EXECUTIVE POWER TO INSTITUTE COMMISSIONS OF INVESTIGATION DESIRABLE.

It will, not unfrequently, occur, in a government of such extensive and diversified concern as that of the United States, that not only the President, but the conductors of numerous departments, will require correct information, relative both to things and to persons, at a distance from the seat of government. Indeed, it is a case, which may arise even at the seat of government, where the trust is large, momentous, or complicated ; and where the remedy of abuses is rather to be expected from the spontaneous interposition of the executive itself, than by the harsher, though sometimes indispensable, medium of legislative investigation and enactment. Inquiries of this description, are often attended with much loss of time, much expense, great personal inconvenience, no little obloquy, and no small degree of uncertainty in the result. Sometimes, indeed, malice may triumph, and envy be gratified, and selfish interests subserved.

It would, therefore, be an essential improvement in the administration of executive government, if a general provision were made for the emanation, from proper authorities, and on appropriate occasions, of a *commission of investigation*. Disinterested, dignified, and impartial men, should be selected for its execution. Generally speaking, it should be entirely free from expense ; but where expense is unavoidable, it should be restrained to its narrowest limits.

It was once proposed to introduce into our government a general system of *espionage* ; and, singular as it may now appear, the officers of the Revenue Department were the intended organs of its operation.

A bold, but candid use of more legitimate means of information ; the employment of an instrument of investigation both more honourable and more efficacious ; might supersede secret and anonymous insinuations, affecting the honour of public functionaries ; at once guarding the rights of the public, and securing to the administration its confidence ; and

alike acceptable to the legislative and to the executive departments.

By neglect and inattention, abuses thrive. By prompt, energetic, and impartial inquiry, virtue is vindicated, punishment overtakes the guilty, and fear reaches all.

THE FOURTEENTH EVIL.

THE ETIQUETTE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL OFFICE REQUIRES REFORM.

The time of the President of the United States is precious to the nation. It is intimately connected with what has been termed the *etiquette* of the office. This is a subject which has never been seriously and fully discussed. Chief Justice Marshall has made a dignified approach to it; and, in his valuable biography of our most illustrious citizen, has fully justified some of the rules and habits of President Washington. Those of the other Presidents have not been collated; and are far from being generally known. Presidents Adams, Jefferson, and Madison, studiously avoided visiting other parts of the country than their private concerns required. President Washington, on one occasion, adopted a different course, with his usual purity and elevation of purpose; and it was attended with the happiest effect. President Monroe judiciously pursued it to a much more liberal extent. The visit of a President first coming into office, to parts of the country with which he was not previously acquainted, cannot fail to be useful. It was intended by President Monroe to be entirely unattended with parade, excitement, or ceremonies; and it would be well, should future Presidents imitate the example, if the feelings of our citizens would permit those to be as much diminished as may comport with the objects in view. Military, and naval, and militia, and scientific displays, are congenial with the habits of our nation; but splendid entertainments and iterated addresses, are sometimes as tedious as they are unwelcome.

It is an honourable feature in the etiquette of the office, and which has obtained with all the Presidents, that access has never been denied to any citizen.

In other respects, the etiquette has considerably varied with

the different Presidents. It is not otherwise important to the public than that, in the intercourse between the Chief Magistrate and his fellow-citizens, republican habits should prevail; and that his time, which is the property of the nation, and of mankind, should not be too much encroached upon by the claims of fashion or of interest. In the oral, as well as in the written form, demands have occasionally been made, which are not readily reconcilable with either principle.

THE FIFTEENTH EVIL.

PRESIDENTIAL CONTESTS ENDANGER THE UNION.

The conservation of the unity and integrity of the North American empire, is an object which has constantly engaged the attention of her eminent statesmen; it is one not regarded with indifference by thinking minds in other quarters of the globe; and it has become providentially the favourite and darling idea of the people. There exists no ground to apprehend that their attachment, in this particular, is misdirected. If there be any single subject with which the future liberties, knowledge, and happiness of the whole of mankind, are essentially connected, it is perhaps the union and the wise example of this confederated republic. Many of the dangers which have heretofore threatened its union and prosperity, have been happily averted; and three insurrections and five conspiracies, have left but a passing note for history. There still remains a danger, however, of which the aspect is peculiarly minatory; and that is the election of the President of the United States. It is obvious to the least reflection, that serious danger to the continuance and duration of the union, is not likely to arise from the legislative department of the government. The first severe and alarming shock is, on the contrary, to be expected from some circumstance connected with the executive department. The reason is sufficiently clear. It is not the greatness of the honour; though this is the highest offered to man on the earth. High as is the honour, it must be worn with humility; nor is it unattended with labour, with care, with delicate responsibilities, and sometimes with thorns. It is not the emolument; for this is not,

and cannot well become greatly disproportionate to the station. It is not altogether geographical sensibility ; for, intense as this is, it would readily yield, it is confidently believed, to some fair principle of rotation. It is, principally, *the immense and dignified patronage thus confided for so long a period to a single mind.*

When particular portions of the Union have been disappointed in natural and reasonable pretensions to the first magistracy of the nation, for a great time, and after repeated trials, a latent inquiry arises, *of what benefit is this union to us, and might we not be as happy if we were by ourselves ?*

If, therefore, a principle could be adopted, by which the several great portions of the Union might not only entertain a reasonable prospect of enjoying, in fair rotation, the honour of furnishing a President of the United States, but also repose with tolerable security on a due attention to their claims and interests, during an existing administration, may not the bands which unite us as one people be strengthened, the agitation which attends the successorship be allayed, and a more certain basis for that great blessing, steadiness in government, be presented ?

Whether what is about to be proposed will tend to obviate the evil under immediate consideration, or any others, is a question which must be referred to the dispassionate and the disinterested reflection of every individual citizen. That it will have this tendency is sincerely believed by the undersigned ; and its submission becomes therefore a duty.

THE SIXTEENTH EVIL.

THE OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT REQUIRES REFORM.

The abrupt succession of the Vice-President to a depending and unfinished term of a President, would be productive of peculiar ill consequences, which we have hitherto happily been spared from experiencing, but which cannot the less readily be foreseen and imagined.

What the Senate wants is a skilful and dignified prolocutor ; and the most direct and legitimate means of obtaining him is from the choice of the body itself.

Lord Kames has admirably illustrated the tact, the talent, the acquirement, and the experience, requisite for such a station; nor are they precisely such as would best qualify their possessor to be a President of the United States; and the inference would be equally illegitimate, that the person best qualified to be President of the United States would always possess the qualities and attainments peculiarly adapted to conduct with satisfaction and propriety the proceedings of a deliberative assembly.

If the sentiments of Governor Wolcott are not misapprehended, instead of abrogating this principle, he would impart to it further extension; and would have the speaker of the House of Representatives designated by a process other than that of an election by the body over which he is to preside, and of course with reference to qualifications very distinct from those which long experience has evinced in England to be weighty brilliants in the character of a prolocutor of the House of Commons.

The celebrated and virtuous Turgot, of France, complained, in the insipidity of modern republicanism, that the institutions of North America were so much modelled on those of England. For this he could not see adequate reason. President Adams has shown reason in abundance; but there exists a stronger proof of their intrinsic excellence, derived from quarters which at that æra could not have been anticipated. A political party arose, opposed to Mr. Adams, but which adhered with strict pertinacity to English forms and principles of government. South America has been emancipated, and without any peculiar temptation to follow English forms, has given them almost a uniform preference. In fact, a trial of the principles advocated by Mr. Turgot has been made in his own country, and the mournful and terrible results still appal the pen of history. The feature, however, which is now alluded to, that of forcing a prolocutor on a deliberative assembly, has been abandoned in South America, and both houses of the legislature elect their respective Presidents.

There would be a manifest utility in so arranging the vicarious execution of the Presidential functions that they might

devolve, when occasion renders necessary, on a person, who, being a regular and efficient member of the administration, might be thoroughly acquainted with its policy, from the beginning, and might be likely cordially to sustain it throughout its various ramifications.

THE SEVENTEENTH EVIL.

INCONGRUITY OF QUALIFICATIONS TO ADVISE.

In the existing cabinet system, there may occur an incongruity of qualification to advise on the general and important interests and policy of the nation.

In military and naval matters, in concerns connected with justice, in financial details and operations, great and peculiar skill, attainment, and experience, may be respectively, and even professionally, possessed, without their being necessarily accompanied by those superior and comprehensive talents, which control the destiny of nations, and lead them in the path of safety, prosperity, and renown.

Great military and naval abilities naturally seek occasions for their display ; and present strong temptations to inordinate and profuse expense. Financial abilities, while they delight in accumulation, are, at the same time, favourable to economy and frugality in expenditure. Those to whom are confided the permanent and solid interests of a nation, should be equally remote from extremes on either side ; and while the citizen is not oppressed, nor industry checked by immoderate exactions, the public welfare should advance by a regular and progressive march.

AN APPROPRIATE DEPARTMENT FOR DOMESTIC CONCERNs.

Our country has obstinately resisted the example of other nations, in erecting an appropriate department for interior and domestic concerns ; and it has suffered by its reserve in this particular. That parsimony is never wise which, guarding thousands with scrupulous vigilance, precludes the influx of millions to the resources of a nation. Our commerce has been marked with unrivalled success and prosperity ; but the attention of the nation has been superficial and transitory

to precious manufactures, which would create, and retain at home, an incalculable amount of resource, enlarge our exporting faculties, lessen a pernicious foreign dependence, preserve a healthy medium of circulation, sustain the extended agricultural and landed interests of our population, and encourage its ingenuity and its industry.

Until this essential step towards improvement be taken, and while the departments of domestic affairs and foreign relations remain in a state of consolidation, the remarks which have been made, in reference to other departments, will not be reciprocally applicable. Sedulous assiduity and high acquirement have here been requisite ; and generally speaking, they have been sound. Indeed, after the separation of these distinct branches of political administration, the remarks will not apply with equal force to those and to other branches of public service.

THE EIGHTEENTH EVIL.

NEGLECT OF SUBORDINATE CONCERNS.

When all the heads of departments are embodied in a cabinet, there must necessarily result, to a certain degree, an abstraction of attention from the internal concerns of their respective charges ; and a consequent partial dissipation of intellectual force.

To qualify them, respectively, for consultation that shall prove both wise and useful, on general interests and policy, requires a course of reading, information, study, reflection, and continued deliberation, which the pressure of affairs, in their several departments, will rarely, and not without essential inconvenience, admit. Hasty and immature assentation may therefore be expected ; and will not the less readily obtain, from their advice being without responsibility, and of evanescent evidence.

THE NINETEENTH EVIL.

IMPOSSIBILITY OF INDEPENDENT COUNSEL.

It is an essential and radical vice, in the present cabinet system, that the counsel given to the chief executive magistrate of the republic, however indispensable the imperfection of human nature may render candid and judicious counsel, and however it may tend to keep the nation satisfied, when they know that their President never acts without good advice ; is not, and from the nature of the case, cannot be *independent counsel*.

The cabinet ministers are called to their elevated stations by the President, and they are retained in them by his simple pleasure. To expect, therefore, unwelcome and unpleasant advice, from men so circumstanced, is, at the very least, an unreasonable expectation, even if the propriety of it should not be deemed questionable.

That the nation would naturally be better satisfied with an executive administration ; when they know, not only that its measures cannot be taken without counsel, but that the counsel is given by those who are familiarly acquainted with the subject, and comes from men, who, beyond general good-will, or incidental dissatisfaction, have nothing to fear and nothing to hope from the President, is a proposition requiring little argument.

THE TWENTIETH EVIL.

FATAL UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE CABINET SYSTEM.

It ought, lastly, to be a sufficient, a conclusive, and a fatal objection to the present cabinet system, that it is not sanctioned or recognised by the *Constitution* or by the *laws*.

How the practice grew up, has, in the commencement of this discussion been, it is believed, truly explained. But, if the manuscript journals of the Senate were permitted to be published, something further would be known. It would then appear, that there was a time, when General Wash-

ton, as President of the United States of America, *sat personally in the Senate*. And, if the secret history of that period could be evoked from the tomb, it would further appear, that consequences resulted from this practice not very agreeable to the President, and not very agreeable to the Senators.

It is imagined that the incapacity of the Senate for oral consultation, has, already, been satisfactorily shown. That a single Senator, out of the body of which he is a member, should officially advise on executive measures, might interfere with that definitive sanction and control which the Constitution has wisely confided to that dignified and venerable tribunal.

If the substitution of cabinet advice be the best remaining expedient, it will, it is presumed, be readily admitted, that it would be better, if it were sanctioned by the Constitution, or at least by law. There is not now wanting an example of the embodying of executive ministers, for consultative purposes, by a constitutional provision. A better organization, and one more nicely adjusted to the peculiar genius of our nation, may, it is conceived, be devised. But if an adherence to the cabinet system should, on consideration, be deemed preferable, it ought, at least, to be remarked, that a very solemn engagement is required of all other functionaries, to secure fidelity, in the execution of their trust ; and shall this, the highest function, that of being an official adviser of the first magistrate, be the only one without even that degree of responsibility ?

THE REMEDIES ADVERTED TO.

A further enumeration might be made, of the disadvantages and embarrassments connected with some of our prevailing arrangements ; but it might appear invidious to extend the catalogue. It will answer a much more grateful purpose to direct the attention on the remedies. Such is the liberality of thinking, and of action, which characterize our citizens at the present epoch, that any candid and dispassionate suggestions, calculated to fortify an edifice of liberty, reared at the expense of so much precious blood and treasure ; and to

secure for it the respect of the wise and good of all countries ; and, particularly, at this happy era, of the early and illustrious European friend, whom the arms of the nation are extended to embrace ; cannot but be acceptable.

It will not be entirely superfluous to observe that, in proposing a modification of the advisory functions of the executive, it is not in contemplation to disturb any existing pretensions to confidence, or the sensibilities connected with them ; but to give it, if approved, an operation, on the one hand, so far prospective as to pass present excitement, and, on the other, so near as to prevent the recurrence of a part of what is painful to the nation, on similar occasions.

A review of the written Constitutions, extraneous to our particular country, would not be unattended with utility, and, with these, the future destiny of Europe is, perhaps, intimately allied. The consideration of improvements in our own institutions, is, at once, attended with the benefit of advancing our internal welfare, and the honour of contributing, indirectly, to that of the rest of mankind.

A. B. WOODWARD.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, May 27th, 1824.

On the necessity and importance of a Department of Domestic Affairs in the Government of the United States.

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED TO THE PRESIDENT AND TO THE LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE AUTHORITIES.

The natural order of the Executive Departments of a Government, is that of Revenue, Domestic Affairs, Foreign Relations, and War.

Revenue is that indispensable requisite without which civilized government of any kind, cannot be sustained ; and the primary application of revenue, is to concerns of an in-

ternal character. Pacific are anterior to hostile relations, and are those in which the other necessarily terminate.

Almost every nation possessing a high rank in the scale of civilization, has instituted a Department of Internal Affairs ; and our own constitutes, perhaps, the only exception.

The distinct nature and qualities of internal concerns, and foreign relations, must be obvious to every mind ; nor are the talents and attainments requisite to the correct administration of the one less clearly diverse from those which the other demands.

Both the internal affairs and the foreign concerns of the United States of America, from the wonderful growth and incalculable consequence of our country, have assumed a magnitude which renders their consolidation oppressive, and attended with a waste of the public resources ; and the indications of public feeling are by no means equivocal, that their separation is alike necessary to the felicity of those to whom these important interests may, from time to time, be confided, and to the national welfare.

I shall, therefore, proceed with a free, but I trust, no inde-
licate pencil, to portray, what I deem the great outlines and
features of a Department of Domestic Affairs ; regarded un-
der an aspect contrasted with those which would peculiarly
distinguish the Department of Foreign Relations.

A classification of the various objects, which a title so comprehensive as national concerns of an internal character would embrace, is a task of no small difficulty ; nor is an enumera-
tion of the specific articles, to which, in every class, attention
must be directed, likely, at any time, to be correct, in the first
instance. In this, as in other great national movements, while
a rapid march is requisite when the line of duty is open and
clear, yet the lights of experience, and the radiance of genius,
from whatever quarters they may spring, are always to be
readily and candidly received.

If it be admitted that, in a well-organized government, anomalous branches of action and expenditure ought not to be encouraged, though occasionally allowed ; if the principle be rigorously adhered to, and probably a better could not be im-

agined, that those in every line and walk of public service should be subject to some certain and well-known responsibility and control ; it will, perhaps, greatly facilitate the inquiry about to be entered into, to advert to what has already been commenced, and, in no small degree, matured, in our administration, whether, strictly speaking, out of any department, or if not extrinsic altogether, at least doubtfully, when not inappropriately, placed

We shall thus find that, of the grand ramifications of a department of domestic or internal affairs, not less than three branches are already in existence and successful activity. The post-roads, the post-offices, and the transportation of the mail, indicate a progress in the United States honourable to the country, and are the wonder of other nations. So the surveys and disposal of unsettled lands have been reduced to an exact and prosperous system. As far as it is proper that the executive should be concerned with the administration of justice its interests are protected by a high and distinguished officer.—The national coin, if regarded as a subject appurtenant to this department, may also be adverted to.

The people of the United States have thus adequate reason to approve of much that has been effected by those in their service : and have a good right to believe, that what remains will not be long deferred.

The diffusion of knowledge may be justly regarded as the basis of republican government. Without this, ignorance, tyranny, superstition, and disobedience of the laws, prevail, and all useful institutions languish or perish. With it public and private morals, liberal improvements in the arts and sciences, industry, tranquillity, and both individual and national glory, are maintained and flourish. There is no reason that a republican should yield to any other form of government in these essential particulars. It is, in fact, eminently calculated to transcend all others ; and both antiquity and modern times afford abundant proof of the position. What lasting renown have the Republics of ancient Greece conferred on their citizens ; and where are the limits to

which the American people may not, in the same sphere, justly aspire ?

Much of what has been done, or attempted, in this line, in some foreign countries, belongs to ostentation and parade. In not a few instances, governments have retarded, instead of promoting the advancement of knowledge. I shall not tempt my countrymen to step beyond the line of utility and good sense ; but let them not admit a doubt that some exertions are incumbent on them, not only from a discreet regard for their own welfare, but also from a generous attachment to the interests of mankind.

A Department of Domestic Affairs ought, therefore, with great propriety, to be charged with whatever relates, under legislative sanctions, to the advancement of the sciences, to the promotion of the arts, to their application and subserviency to the general interests of agriculture, of manufactories, of commerce, and of internal improvement ; and, of course, with all that, under a wise, prudent, and correct government, concerns national education and information.

The interior organization of a Department of Domestic Affairs, may probably require the distribution of its concerns to five several branches.

Of these, the first would be that of Science and the Arts, and the second, one of public economy. The remaining three, being already raised, will need to be specified, only after a clear view of the detailed duties which ought to be charged on the two first.

The most important knowledge to the citizen, in a free land, is that of the laws of his own country.

To the first branch of a Department of Domestic Affairs, the following are among the earliest duties to be committed : The custody and preservation of the originals of the Declaration of Independence, of the Constitution of the United States, of all the Laws made under it, and of similar, and other domestic archives, together with the printing and distribution through the nation of these documents, or such of them as may be required by law.

The extreme confusion and irregularity prevailing in our

own country, and indeed in all others, except two Asiatic nations, on a subject that comes more home to the business of life than any other, have always been lamented. The subject alluded to comprehends measures of length, weights, measures of capacity, and measures of land.

These ought to command the early and sedulous attention of a branch of Science and Arts in the Department of Domestic Affairs. The selection of a standard of length, and the reduction of measures and weights to practical uniformity, are arduous and difficult tasks ; and require skill, patience, attention, time, perseverance, and minute detail, in whatever branch or department of the public service they should be undertaken.

Connected with this is the subject of time itself.

The people of the United States of America, without any laws or enactments whatever on this subject, manifest so universal and so implicit an obedience to the regulations of the Italian Pontiff, that the measure and distribution of time will at present be totally pretermitted.

The copy-rights of authors, and the patent-rights of discoverers and inventors, constitute an interesting item in this branch. By too servile an imitation of British enactments on these subjects, and which are essentially inapplicable to the state and society of our country, we have committed a double injury ; an injury to praiseworthy individuals, and an injury to the public itself. It has been remarked by foreigners, and perhaps the truth of the remark may be admitted without any improper self-adulation, that the Americans of the United States seem to possess a peculiar aptitude to inventions in the arts. Certainly the display of their exertions in this line is calculated to impress this idea, not only from the number of the inventions, from their variety, and from their beauty, but from the extreme ingenuity with which some of them have been devised. The artists are not rewarded in the manner that they merit from an enlightened and grateful country ; and the public are infested with a domestic vexation, and with litigious broils, not merely disagreeable in themselves, but in no degree calculated to reflect honour on either side. A vista of great and extensive improvement, on these heads, opens to

view, not only intimately connected with the fame of our country, but also with its manufactures and domestic comforts, as well as its exporting interests.

The general interests of science, of the arts, of agriculture, of manufactures, of commerce, particularly that of an internal character, and of national instruction, have already been alluded to, as coming within the scope of a Domestic Department.

It is not intended to approach any thorny or constitutional questions, in relation to national education and internal improvements, in this discussion. It will be sufficient, for the present occasion, barely to observe that these great concerns demand further attention from our statesmen and patriots; and that on a Domestic Department must be reposed the only reliance for their faithful execution and administration.

To the branch now under consideration the principal portion of these matters appertains; and whatever our national councils may, in their wisdom, see proper to do, or to attempt, with regard to public education and information, to observatories, to agricultural and polytechnic schools, to botanic gardens, and to laboratories, will claim its attention.

The civilization of the Indians, hopeless as the prospect is, ought not to be lost sight of by our government. Its character and philanthropic tendencies require this attention; and the regulation of pacific Indian intercourse may soon properly be severed from that province of administration, of which the prominent charge is that of hostile relations.

The census of the United States is likely to become one of the most important statistical documents afforded in any country. There are some purposes, which it is well calculated to subserve, that, hitherto, it has not been applied to. Whatever complexion it may be destined to assume, the details of its execution, publication, and distribution, occasionally require continued attention and industry. Forming a grand political material, in the very construction and rearing of our admirable frame of government, it cannot be doubted that its correctness and regular completion, will be objects dear to the nation. It constitutes one of those spheres of knowledge properly to be assigned to the first branch of the domestic department.

Along with it may, indeed, be consigned all the intercourse and correspondence between the General Government and the several State Governments, which go to illustrate the history, and the statistics incident to each.

All the colonial establishments within, and perhaps in the pacific relation without the United States, which may require the attention of the General Government, may be considered in connexion with the first branch of the Department.

It is not improbable that more than what has been specified will fall within this comprehensive sphere ; but, as has been before remarked, the lights of experience and of genius must be waited for, and when presented, a cheerful admission of them rendered.

On the Distribution of a Bureaux in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE DISCUSSION ON THE NECESSITY AND IMPORTANCE OF A DEPARTMENT OF DOMESTIC AFFAIRS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A slight attention to the interior organization of a Department of Foreign Affairs, will prove that *language* is an important elementary principle in the formation of its branches, in addition to that of geographical association.

The language of the United States of America, and of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, is destined to cover a vast portion of the globe. It is a fine and noble language; the most copious in the world; wonderfully simple in its construction, and daily advancing in its energies; and, could it be divested of the barbarism of its orthography, it might justly rank the first.

Whatever destiny may attend the language, certain it is, that the circumstance of its being common to two such great nations, will strengthen and multiply the relations likely to subsist between them; imparting inconceivable force to the ties previously formed by consanguinity, by religion, by manners, by jurisprudence, by resemblance of political institutions, and by an extensive and active commerce.

To the maternal country, therefore, must be allotted, by her magnificent offspring, the primary Bureau in her Department of Foreign Affairs.

The first Bureau would thus embrace the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and its dependencies.

The position of France on the Continent of Europe, the connexion she has had with us in our *autocratic* war, or our war for *self-government*, her power, her courage, her elegant language and literature, and her universal refinement, com-

bine to render her the second object of exterior attention to this Republic.

The second Bureau would therefore comprise France, the colonial establishments which British moderation has left to her in Asia, Chandernagore, Pondicherry, Mahi, Isle à Bourbon ; that colonial establishment in America of which the independence is about to be confirmed, the island of Hayti or St. Domingo, and countries using the French language in general.

The discovery of the occidental hemisphere, the early settlement of it, the number and the magnitude of her colonies, their proximity to us, their current revolutions, the majesty and sublimity of her existing misfortunes, and an intrinsic grandeur of character, of which all the efforts of the Unholy Alliance have not yet deprived her, present to the North American Republic, Spain, and the dominions she once swayed, in an affecting attitude.

The third Bureau would comprehend Spain, including Majorca, Minorca, and Yvica ; the Asiatic Philippine Islands, the Atlantic Spanish Islands, all the Republics of South America, Mexico, Guatimala, Colombia, Chili, Peru, the United Provinces of La Plata ; and countries using the Spanish language in general.

The rise of a throne in America will be considered a curiosity, and a moral phenomenon, attended with no ordinary interest ; and whether the new empire at Brazil, of so expansive a geography, and so numerous a population, is destined to be permanent, or only to present to its devoted wearer an ephemeral crown, is a problem yet to be answered by the plume of history. Her constitution is methodical, minute, of ample volume, and of chaste style ; and the early and respectful approach she has made to us, enhanced in its value by the learning, the talents, and the polish, of her distinguished envoy, gives her immediate claims on our attention. The Brazilian empire is a very important portion of the American continent ; and the new and splendid Brazilian constitution is a document, which, whatever its results may be, will have effectuated no disparagement to the cause of liberty and of mankind.

The Fourth Bureau in the Department of Foreign Affairs, would superintend our existing and future relations with the kingdom of Portugal, the empire of Brazil, Pernambuco, Goa, Macao, Madeira, and the insular Atlantic dominions of Portugal ; and, in general, all countries and places using the Portuguese language.

Will the interests of civilized mankind ever encounter such a shock as that beneath which the Roman empire fell ? The progressive settlement and refinement of Russia and of the two Americas, relieve the anxiety of the philanthropist, and enable him to respond to this startling interrogatory a negative answer. But it is highly important to mankind that Russia should advance in refinement ; nor can it be regarded as a blessing of ordinary value that her destinies are confided to the hands of a monarch so enlightened as he who now holds her sceptre.

The Germanic tongue and the cognate languages occupy a vast population in the interior and North of Europe, and our commerce with those regions has not yet received all the attention it merits.

I shall enumerate, as belonging to the fifth Bureau, all our concerns with Russia, Austria, Hanover, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Hamburg, Prussia, the Dutchy of Mecklenburg Swer-
rin, and the Russian Colonies in North America.

In like manner I shall groupe, as the appurtenances of the sixth Bureau, the Netherlands, Batavia, the Moluccas, Switzerland, Tuscany, Upper Italy, Naples, Sardinia, and Sicily.

The emancipation of Greece is pregnant with consequences dear to the human race—peculiarly dear to America. Our Mediterranean commerce will become highly interesting to us, as soon as the nations environing that sea shall have come to a state of repose. Our mediation between the metropolis of the Bosphorus and that of the Morea, might save the effusion of much blood.

The seventh Bureau would consolidate whatever may appertain to Greece, to Turkey, to Egypt, to Morocco, to Tunis, to Tripoli, to Algiers, to Africa in general, to Mahometan countries in general, accessible by the Mediterranean.

The solid zone of civilization is ready to receive its closing cement from the hands of the United States of America ; and the grand, venerable, diluvian empire of Asia, is about to be touched, on her oriental confine, by the naval arm of the republic, extended from Astoria. We should be prompt to impress deeper the favourable sentiments already bestowed on us in advance by the Court of Pekin, disregarding the vexatious scruples of a vain and silly etiquette ; and our commercial relations with Asia will soon deserve to be considered under an aspect entirely new.

The eighth Bureau would be devoted to China, to India ; so far as regarded separately from the first Bureau ; to Persia, to Arabia, and to Asia in general.

The existing commercial greatness of North America is not yet well understood even in the country itself. It is a commerce which requires and deserves, from a masterly hand, an accurate comparison, not only with that of the most flourishing nations of antiquity, but more particularly with that of the greatest modern nations. The result of such an investigation would satisfactorily show, how eminent we already are ; how incalculably growing are our resources ; and what are the means necessary to protect, and to advance our interests. We would, then, perceive, that if we hesitate to avail ourselves of the inconceivable advantages we possess, on account of any little expense attached to the initiatory and preparatory measures ; if we neglect to secure for our country the capacities which nature and Providence have offered her ; if, in short, we sacrifice the permanent pre-eminence of the North American United States to the prosperity of more vigilant and spirited nations ; we shall be guilty of a criminal abandonment of duty, which will not escape the censure of history, nor be unattended with bitter self-reproach.

Whatever expense, therefore, is indispensably requisite for the developement, establishment, and prosecution of a well-organized and active department of Domestic Affairs, of an industrious and well-informed Department of Foreign Affairs ; and of a diplomacy, so comprehensive and extensive

as to be commensurate only with the nations that inhabit our globe ; ought to be readily met and cheerfully sustained.

Yet the genuine principles of economy are not to be immolated to the spirit of adventure and audacity.

Let, then, the expense of the Bureaux attached to the Department of Foreign Affairs, be approached.

I shall propose for the Under Secretary, or Chief Clerk, or whatever other denomination may be adopted, of the British Bureau, an annual compensation of two thousand dollars ; of the French Bureau, of one thousand six hundred dollars ; of the Spanish Bureau, of one thousand eight hundred dollars ; of the Portuguese Bureau, of one thousand two hundred dollars ; of the Baltic and Germanic Bureau, of one thousand four hundred dollars ; of the Batavian and Italian Bureau, of one thousand dollars ; of the Ottoman Bureau, of eight hundred dollars ; and of the Oriental Bureau, of six hundred dollars ; the total, ten thousand four hundred dollars.

But it is not fair to consider this total as clear fresh expense. Of the existing expense of the Department of State, regarded under this aspect, fifteen thousand nine hundred dollars, a considerable portion attaches to the foreign relations.

I should prefer the title of Under Secretary, or some other epithet, to that of Chief Clerk ; because many of the Bureaux will require no subordinate Clerks. ; because the situations will all exact extraordinary attainment, and high respectability ; and because it is probable that, in process of time, as business accumulates, and affairs are methodized, a wise, provident, and liberal legislature, will increase the salaries, from the moderate sums now proposed, to amounts adequate to the dignity of the stations. Let it be constantly remembered, that the ingatherings of the Treasury, from a correct administration of the public business, infinitely transcend all the outlayings necessary to produce that result.

Some minds apprehend the corruption of pure republican attachments, from the extension of our diplomatic intercourse. What court is it, in the world, that presents a spectacle more attractive, and more imposing ; better formed to invite affection, or command respect ; than the administration of this

powerful, this beautiful Republic? Exists there an instance of a citizen lost to her, by the meretricious charms of any foreign country?

May not the actual exhibition of the living man, and the experience of his virtues, his talents, and his accomplishments, gain, from foreign nations, the love of North America, and the love of Republicanism?

A. B. WOODWARD.

WASHINGTON, *April 22, 1824.*

APPENDIX.

To the Discussions on the necessity and importance of a Department of Domestic Affairs in the government of the United States, and on the distribution of the Bureaux in the Department of Foreign Affairs, being forms of enactments calculated to bring out results resembling those contemplated in the Discussion.

TITLE.

An Act to divide the Department of State into two separate and distinct Departments, to be denominated, respectively, the Department of Domestic Affairs, and the Department of Foreign Affairs; and for other purposes.

FORMS OF ENACTMENTS.

Be it enacted, &c. That the Department of State shall be divided into two separate and distinct Departments, of which the first shall be denominated the Department of Domestic Affairs, and the second shall be denominated the Department of Foreign Affairs.

SEC. 2. *And be it enacted,* That there be, in the Department of Domestic Affairs, the following officers: First, a Secretary; second, a Commissioner of Science and Arts; third, a Commissioner of Public Economy; fourth, a Commissioner of Posts; fifth, a Commissioner of Public Lands; sixth, a Commissioner of the Mint; seventh, a Commissioner of Patents; eighth, a Commissioner of Indian Affairs; and ninth, a Commissioner of Justice.

SEC. 3. *And be it enacted,* That there shall be in the Department of Foreign Affairs, the following officers, viz: First, a Secretary; second, an Under Secretary of British Affairs; third, an Under Secretary of French Affairs; fourth, an Under Secretary of Spanish Affairs; fifth, an Under Secretary of Portuguese Affairs; sixth, an under Secretary of Baltic and Germanic Affairs, seventh, an under Secretary of Belgic and Italic Affairs; eighth, an under Secretary of O-

toman Affairs ; and, ninth, an Under Secretary of Oriental Affairs.

SEC. 4. *And be it enacted*, That the Secretary of the Department of Domestic Affairs, and the Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, shall execute such duties as may, from time to time be charged upon them by law, or, not being contrary to law, by the President of the United States ; and the several officers in the Said Departments shall execute such duties as may, from time to time be charged upon them by law, or, not being contrary to law, by the Secretary of the respective Department.

SEC. 5. *And be it enacted*, That the following shall be the salaries of the several officers in the Departments of Domestic and Foreign Affairs, the whole payable quarterly at the Treasury of the United States : of the Secretary of the Department of Domestic Affairs, six thousand dollars ; of the Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, six thousand dollars ; of the Commissioner of Science and Arts, four thousand dollars ; of the Commissioner of Public Economy, four thousand dollars ; of the Commissioner of Posts, four thousand dollars ; of the Commissioner of Public Lands, three thousand dollars ; of the Commisioner of the Mint, two thousand five hundred dollars ; of the Commissioner of Patents, two thousand dollars ; of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, two thousand dollars ; of the Commissioner of Justice, four thousand dollars ; of the Under Secretary of British Affairs, two thousand five hundred dollars ; of the Under Secretary of French Affairs, two thousand dollars ; of the Under Secretary of Spanish Affairs, two thousand two hundred and fifty dollars ; of the Under Secretary of Portuguese Affairs, one thousand five hundred dollars ; of the Under Secretary of Baltic and Germanic Affairs, one thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars ; of the Under secretary of Belgic and Italic Affairs, one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars ; of the Under Secretary of Ottoman Affairs, one thousand dollars ; and of the Under Secretary of Oriental Affairs, eight hundred dollars.

SEC. 6. *And be it enacted*, That, as soon as conveniently

may be, the Mint shall be transferred to the seat of the Government of the United States.

SEC. 7. *And be it enacted*, That, as soon as conveniently may be, the Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall be established at the seat of the government of the United States.

SEC. 8. *And be it enacted*, That, as soon as conveniently may be, after the establishment of the mint at the seat of the Government of the United States, an improved coinage shall be made, of one hundred millions of half-cents, ten millions of half-dismes, one million of half-dollars, and one hundred thousand half-eagles.

SEC. 9. *And be it enacted*, That all acts, and parts of acts, coming within the provisions of this act be repealed.

SEC. 10. *And be it enacted*, That this act shall take effect from and after the first day of January next.

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